Rating the 88th Congress *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Who's Who in Vietnam?

Bernard B. Fall

On Robert Lowell — *John Wain*

While Talent Burns — *Robert Brustein*

Act III in Rome — *Michael Novak*

Pop Goes the Easel — *Frank Getlein*

Tires and Safety — *James Ridgeway*

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

En Route with Lyndon

★ President Johnson gives every sign of being a dissatisfied man. According to one reliable forecaster he is likely to carry 45 states and Mr. Johnson will stay up into the early hours of Wednesday morning, November 4, wondering why he didn't carry those additional five.

Traveling with his party as it careens across the nation, one notices this avaricious desire not merely to win but to win everything; every now and then the candidate stops long enough to remind himself and his audiences that he should not be so optimistic, that Governor Dewey was over-optimistic, that the polls after all might be wrong. But the mood lasts hardly a minute: in the brisk tingling air of America's red-foliaged autumn, with large crowds turning out and all the polls pointing his way, President Johnson actually seems to bounce as he ascends the speakers' platforms.

The big Presidential plane touches down at the local airport and the high school band gives him "Hail to the Chief," and an attempt at "Hello, Dolly," and he is down the ramp in no time, going to the end of the line of spectators and coming back again with an exuberant grin.

It is not far to the center of town, but Mr. Johnson has stopped 10 times between here and there, bounding out of his open car, hailing the crowds, fondling a baby and getting back again to ride standing up on the rear seat while the Secret Service men hold his legs, a perfect target for any sniper.

This is the kind of verve and ebullience that FDR might have shown if he could have jumped out of his wheelchair, although Mr. Johnson sometimes uses a phrase of such corny folksiness that it would have made Roosevelt cringe. But there can be no doubt of its effectiveness. The half-stunned Eastern observer begins to wonder if he, perhaps, isn't a snob; if he might have elevated his nose, too, at Andy Jackson when the latter brought frontier democracy into the White House.

The President has got into the habit of referring in friendly fashion to "Molly and the babies," by which he is understood to mean generically "Mrs. Murphy" of the famous boarding house or, let us say, Mrs. American Everywoman. This was a little over the heads of the President's entourage of puzzled reporters the first couple of times, and there was speculation that he meant some Governor's wife named Molly, or a Senator's consort perhaps, but the idiom was finally correctly interpreted.

The Wide Open Target

★ There is another trend forcibly brought home, in the final weeks of the campaign. President Johnson is stepping up his attack on Senator Goldwater, and if ever there was a wide open target this is it. Anybody who has read *The Conscience of a Conservative*, or *Why Not Victory?* knows that the Senator is a sitting duck, and Mr. Johnson is beginning to fire away. One can't help feeling a kind of compassion for Barry: surely he could never have dreamed that anybody would nominate him when he wrote in the *Conscience* that he favored "prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program . . there can be no equivocation here."

Mr. Johnson quoted this with proper dismay before a huge farm audience at Des Moines, and coupled it with Senator Goldwater's lame later comment that, of course, "nothing would be done to bring disaster upon you suddenly."

Johnson: "Well, I guess they think disaster is better if it comes by degrees," and so on.

The same thing goes for Senator Goldwater's comment that he would make social security "voluntary" (a position from which he has since withdrawn) and other statements.

President Johnson is going through them like a farmer with a scythe, mowing them down.

Like Roping a Steer

★ There is something methodical about his attack. The President has set out, as deliberately as a Texas cowboy following a steer, to isolate Senator Goldwater from the herd. He points out, perfectly accurately, that the Goldwater position on issue after issue is different from General Eisenhower's, as well as from that of all the other Presidents since the Second World War.

"For 30 years, under five Presidents, we have followed a steady course to a stable, prosperous and good society," Mr. Johnson says. And now comes along "the opposition" (as he describes it) to contradict the national consensus. It is true on the international as well as the domestic front.

The Johnson delivery ranges from trivial to powerful. Frequently he has a prepared text which covers the logic of what he wants to say. And he follows it up with the kind of evangelical harangue which he loves, and which the immediate audience relishes.

Any Chief Executive can collect a crowd . . . mothers bring their children into the dangerous press to let them see a President. They would cheer anything, and when Mr. Johnson shouts oratorical questions they shout back "Yes" or "No" as directed.

Does the substance of what he says get under the surface? The conclusion of this reporter is that it does.

The real issue in this campaign is Senator Goldwater, and the American public's reaction is, in brief, that they mistrust him.

Ike and Vietnam

★ Last week, Senator Goldwater announced that if he won the election, he would send General Eisenhower to South Vietnam to conduct an on-the-spot investigation. Rather wearily, a reply came from Gettysburg by a spokesman of the man who was a great war hero and a well-beloved President. There would be no comment General Eisenhower had not been notified in advance of the proposal.

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The 88th Congress

The 1963 session of Congress seemed to Senator Javits "the longest-running slow-motion show to hit Washington in years." "We are in grave danger," he said at the time, "of seeing ourselves dubbed the 'standstill' Congress, or worse." He did not mean that acceptance of all Executive recommendations is proof of Congressional wisdom (some may deserve repudiation), but that major legislative business ought to be considered and disposed of in reasonable time. Five weeks after President Kennedy's assassination, Medicare, mass transportation, minimum wage bills seemed hopelessly stalled. Foreign aid had been butchered. Little more than 20 percent of John Kennedy's program had gone through.

The record of Congress this year is not "immortal," as House Majority Leader Albert thinks, but unquestionably there has been a sense of renewal. Of 30 Johnson recommendations sent Congress on June 23, 24 have been enacted into law. That is a remarkable accomplishment. Several, such as the Civil Rights Act and the broadened attack on domestic poverty, are of substantial importance.

This renaissance on the Hill has given rise to an image of President Johnson as miracle-man. In Senator Goldwater's imagery, that means an arm-twister who has done what no decent President should ever do. Without detracting in any way from Mr. Johnson's talent for persuasion (arm-twisting), a few reservations need to be entered. Congress this year, according to the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, did cut Johnson's budget by over $4 billion – though some of this will be restored by supplemental appropriations. Moreover, with the exception of the anti-poverty and federal pay raise bills (which perhaps only Mr. Johnson could have guided to victory), the 1964 legislative agenda was entirely taken up by the "Kennedy program." Passage of the Civil Rights Bill was never in serious doubt. Neither was a tax cut, though the fact that President Johnson showed Chairman Byrd of the Senate Finance Committee preliminary budget figures might have speeded its consideration. And legislation for mass transport and wilderness protection flowed primarily from maneuvers within Congress itself. "All this," as a Democratic Senator put it, "was coming to a head in 1963."

Nevertheless, close as we are to these events, we can spot differences in the ways the two Democratic Presidents have dealt with the legislative branch. Mr. Johnson's is the more intimate approach. He did, after all, spend 10 years in the House and 12 in the Senate. Even

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as Senate Majority Leader, he regularly attended meetings of the fabled "Board of Education," the after-hours conclave of House leaders which for decades has mixed business with pleasure. He is on close personal terms with all three of his House leaders – McCormack, Albert and Boggs. Whereas John Kennedy often gave the impression of believing that the force of the New Deal had spent itself, and that Congress could not be overloaded, Johnson remains imbued with the New Deal philosophy of his formative years in Congress. For example, the National Service Corps and a youth employment bill had languished in committee, session after session. Johnson put them into a package distinctly his own and hounded Congress until it was accepted. Whereas Mr. Kennedy tended to be more fatalistic about losing a vote, Johnson is constitutionally incapable of accepting defeat. That he has a capacity to induce Congressmen to do things they did not believe they could do and still survive, was illustrated by his persuading a number of reluctant Texans to oppose recommitting the mass transit bill. After recommittal was defeated, final passage of the bill was assured, and the Texans were allowed to vote against it.

Comparing the voting behavior of Southern Democrats in 1963 and 1964, one sees little change. Out of conservative conviction or fear, the Southerners have opposed the White House more often than not. The 16 Democratic Senators from the Deep South – plus Florida and Virginia – voted "right" less than 30 percent of the time, on 12 key issues selected by *The New Republic*. In comparison, the two Republican Senators from New York have an 85 percent plus score; Senator Case of New Jersey, 83 percent; Senator Kuchel of California, 75 percent; Senators Cooper and Scott, 50 percent. In the House, too, the gap between Southern Democrats and others is wide. Weltner of Atlanta and Bass and Fulton of Tennessee voted for the Civil Rights Act, unthinkable a few years ago, but very, very few Southern Democratic votes can be found for circumscribing the power of the police, for reapportionment, or for any kind of civil rights protection. Many of the Southerners (except from Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia) voted for anti-poverty bills. Still, 10 Republican Representatives had as progressive a record in this Congress as all but 8 Deep South Democrats.

What about the 89th Congress? With Republicans siphoning off intemperate conservatives in the South; with Southern prosperity; with a growing Negro and labor vote; with a Southerner in the White House – and with the Civil Rights Act on the books – it is conceivable that more Southern Democrats will move closer toward the mainstream of their party.

There remains, of course, considerable unfinished business: medical care for the aged, aid to Appalachia, minimum wage, area redevelopment, housing and legislation on Presidential succession. It is hard to imagine that the November elections could improve on the 63-33 Democratic advantage in the Senate, or improve much on the 258-176 Democratic margin in the House. In the Senate, 24 Democrats are up for reelection, and only six Republicans. Democrats may win a couple of new Senate seats, but they would be in states such as New York and Pennsylvania where the Republican incumbents have tended to support Democratic Administrations. Johnson could win big, yet have no more Democrats in Congress than he had in the 88th. More of them, however, might be more cooperative.

NEXT WEEK. *A study of Barry Goldwater's economic opinions by James Tobin*

Pollution Boggle

Legislation to stiffen the nation's water pollution program passed the Senate but died in the House. It got support from the White House, but this wasn't enough to offset opposition from the Public Health Service. (If the bill had passed the PHS would have lost considerable authority.) Meanwhile, the program boggles along: There is no report from Mississippi, where the PHS was said to have been hard at work all through the summer digging up evidence to show how the pesticide endrin got into the water – killing fish, upsetting the environment, perhaps endangering human health. Everybody knows endrin runs off crops and into the water, but nobody in the government wants to say so, because then the logical thing to do would be to get the poison off the market. Instead, the government set out to find "scientific evidence." Now it's disclosed that there isn't any evidence because there wasn't any investigation. The PHS took some samples in the Mississippi this summer, but, it turns out, this was only to assist in laying out a big research project which is just beginning, *after* the end of the spraying season. It will take two years to complete the study.

The same sort of thing is going on in Raritan Bay, where another of the government's big pollution cases is having convulsions. Both New York and New Jersey

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have been studying pollution in this cesspool since 1955. The federal government intruded in 1961, after enough people came down with hepatitis. (They had been eating clams nurtured on the sewage flows which make the bay waters so invitingly warm.) It conducted a study, and there were promises all around that the bay would be cleaned up. Now, there is yet another study. That makes nine years of studying. The point of this particular research is to discover the direction and force of the current in and out of various parts of the bay and surrounding creeks. A small boy in a rowboat could determine this.

Governor Wallace Waits

From a correspondent in Alabama

With all the shrewdness of Little Caesar as portrayed by Edward G. Robinson oh so long ago, Governor George Wallace watches Barry Goldwater, and bides his time. Wallace is not wholly idle, however. He hustled his state legislature the other day into a four-hour session to pass unanimously a resolution calling for state legislatures to join Alabama in forcing a new amendment to the 10th amendment, barring all federal government – Congress, the executive branch, the judiciary – from any direction over schools.

His legislative friends tell him he cannot expect to change the state's constitution to allow him to succeed himself, but Wallace has not given up hope that he might run against John Sparkman for the Senate in 1966. Wallace had promised that shot to his Lieutenant Governor, but this gentleman, James B. Allen, can readily be tossed on the scrapheap – or be persuaded to run for governor. Wallace would prefer the national spotlight, and if his support holds, as there is every reason to believe it will, he can take Sparkman.

All this is part of a larger Wallace aim. He scans the skies for portents and a star shining for him after November 3. If Goldwater is badly beaten, so the conjecture runs, the moderate-to-liberal Republicans will probably reestablish dominance by 1968. Back will come Scranton and Romney; to the fore also will come Bob Taft Jr., if he wins in Ohio; and Chuck Percy, if he wins in Illinois. But they will not pick up all the pieces. The extreme conservatives will not relinquish their bitter shards. A reconstituted, remoderated Republican Party would be left without the remains of the Goldwater movement. This may be what George Wallace is counting on. He is a master at sensing openings. Like a good halfback, he can move to an outside hole when it appears.

Just what he could expect to do with the apparatus of extremism cannot readily be foretold. Perhaps he doesn't know quite yet. Say he became a US Senator and established himself as the new, skillful messiah of ultra-conservatism. He would have only two states of his own region behind him, Alabama and its neighbor Mississippi. But he could count on minority sentiment in a dozen or more states, and not only in the South. With a fragmented opposition – moderate Republicans on the one hand, and the recollected Goldwater factions under Wallace on the other – the national political picture would have been altered. That this would serve the Democrats is obvious. George Wallace would care not a whit – so long as he is conspicuous. He means to be Beelzebub amid the majority angels. Notoriety would serve all the ends he presently has in mind.

One need not anticipate that Wallace could ever gain a majority. But one well might fear the presence in the Senate of so tenacious and shrewd a devil's advocate. For the forces represented by Wallace, and by many who support Goldwater, if not the Senator himself, are nihilistic. It is enough for them to be disruptive, to keep a sizable minority of the people in a condition of disillusionment, bitterness and potentially eruptive anger. They count on the unforeseeable. They bet on the off chance that, somehow, chaos yet may give them full power. They need not clearly see the final victory. It is enough that they be ready, if fate should move in their direction.

"Man, I'm Not Ever Goin' Home."

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How Medicare Was Lost This Year

Like the British after Dunkirk, the proponents of Medicare look on the battle they fought and lost this year as a strategic victory. They are convinced they will be stronger when the fight is resumed in the next session of Congress.

Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas once again proved to be Medicare's most formidable foe. Mills, whose power as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee is legendary, remains an enigma to his House colleagues. Brilliant and thorough, a shrewd manipulator and a skillful debater, he led the successful fight for the trade bill and the tax cut, both dear to the Administration. But he has spurned the pleas of two Democratic Presidents and prevented Medicare from coming to a floor vote. Mills has long claimed that he has compassion for elderly men and women faced with crushing medical bills. But his chairmanship of Ways and Means, he maintains, gives him a special responsibility for watching over the social security system. For six or seven years, Mills has rejected the blandishments of the Medicare proponents and the Health, Education and Welfare statisticians to argue that any health plan tied to social security will inevitably lead the entire system to insolvency. On a moment's notice, he will break out a bewildering array of figures to prove that Medicare is financially unsound, and buttress his position by citing the experience with health plans of countries all over the world. Mills swears that only his fear of a bankrupt social security fund keeps him opposed to Medicare. But whatever his reasons, he has become the leader of the conservatives on the Ways and Means Committee, and he effectively resisted every attempt to have a House majority take the Medicare decision.

Through most of the past session Medicare's proponents despaired of overcoming the Mills roadblock. When President Johnson included Medicare in his basic legislative program, he was not taken seriously. But late this summer, pro-Medicare Senators led by Clinton Anderson of New Mexico announced their intention of attaching the proposal to a bill that would at the same time raise social security taxes and increase cash benefits. They reasoned that in an election year the temptation to pass such a bill – with or without Medicare attached – would be almost irresistible. Their tactic was to inflate the cash benefits in the Senate bill, to the point that a grateful Mills would accept, as a compromise, some sort of Medicare that would retain the soundness of the social security fund. The Medicare forces also counted heavily on Mills' party loyalty and on new pressure from his constituency, which since the 1962 election has been redistricted to include Little Rock, where the labor lobby is relatively strong. On September 2, the Senate by a vote of 49 to 44 passed, as planned, the Medicare amendment to the social security bill. The package then went to a House-Senate conference to be reconciled with Mills' bill, which was not only without Medicare but contained much more limited cash benefits.

The membership of the conference committee was unfavorable to Medicare. Of the seven Senate members, only Anderson, and Gore of Tennessee, had voted for the amendment. Of the five-man House delegation, which Mills naturally dominated, only two members favored Medicare. It was a surprise when Long of Louisiana and Smathers of Florida decided to support the Senate version of the bill. Then Mills declared himself willing to discuss a reasonable compromise, and for the first time the Medicare forces believed they might get a program, though a limited one, and began to issue optimistic reports.

But though Anderson offered Mills virtually anything to meet his standards of fiscal integrity, including the establishment of an entirely separate fund with a separate name, the conferees haggled almost a month without result. Had the House Democratic leadership been confident of winning a floor majority, it might have called Mills back for new "instructions." But Mills, who had earlier rejected any vote on "instructions," had no intention of swallowing a Medicare mandate from the House and made clear that he would risk his considerable prestige in such a contest. The leadership, respectful of Mills' power, was unwilling to chance losing the first and, to date, only floor test of Medicare. In the end, Mills volunteered to bring Medicare back to the House himself, but under a procedure that would have first subjected it to the scrutiny of the Rules Committee. Aware of what the Rules Committee would do and suspecting a trick, the Senate conferees angrily rejected Mills' offer. Thus, in an atmosphere of bad temper, Medicare was lost.

Anderson and his followers now had the choice of walking out of the conference or coming to a compromise with Mills on the cash benefits alone. The House had passed the Mills bill by a vote of 388 to 8 and the members obviously wanted to appear as champions of social security in the election campaign. The pressure on the Senate group was severe. In the end, it was from the White House that the word came to hold firm. It was felt that cash benefits this year might rule out Medicare in the next Congress. The conference collapsed and a social security bill was dead for 1964.

Despite Mills being one of their own, Johnson and Humphrey will campaign hard for Medicare in the coming weeks. The National Council of Senior Citi-

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zens, the strongest Medicare lobby, accepted the defeat of the social security bill, denounced Mills, and has come to the support of the Democratic ticket. Senator Goldwater talks of "strengthening" social security, which is an espousal of the Mills position. His Physicians for Goldwater Committee reads like a Who's Who of the American Medical Association, which has not been known to equivocate on Medicare. At the national level, the issue is clear.

The current Medicare strategy is, of course, based on a major Johnson mandate on election day, as well as a change in the composition of the House in the program's favor. Mills has held out for seven years, under constantly growing pressure. He probably cannot hold out much longer.

Milton Viorst

THE CATHOLIC ATTITUDE ON FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

Vatican II–Act III

Rome

The heart of the declaration on religious liberty, now being discussed at the third session of the Second Vatican Council, is the affirmation that every human person has the right, privately and publicly, to follow his conscience in matters of religion. Cardinal Leger specifically urged that the declaration state explicitly that those who choose not to believe in God also share this right; as it stands, the declaration seems to mention only believers although its logic includes the latter. The declaration is extremely well turned, so as to make clear that it is not endorsing religious indifferentism, or saying that Catholicism renounces its claim to be substantially true to Christ's revelation. The council fathers declare that all consciences are equally free, not that all are equally true.

Some council fathers have urged that the statement be merely pragmatic: that most men agree that it is good, and it works – for the individual, society, and the Church. Others have countered that it has to go deeper than that, if only to break the back of the accusation that Catholics are for religious liberty when they are a minority and against it when they are a majority. (In this sense, Paul Blanshard must surely be credited with prodding the council fathers on.)

In trying to ground the doctrine, two different currents of thought have been operative. One group, led by those who have been showing most leadership at the Council, desires a theological statement; they turn to Scripture and point out that the act of faith, if it is to have any value at all, is a free act. Faith, they point out, is not a mere intellectual assent to propositions organized in a logical system; it is a commitment of one's whole person and destiny, a freely entered relationship with God. But more philosophically-minded theologians find a difficulty in this approach. How does one move from this inner freedom to a right that has binding social and political force?

It is at this point that the long labors of John Courtney Murray, SJ, become significant. In many respects, Father Murray is a classical theologian, but on one crucial point he parts company with most forms of classical scholasticism: he has a keen sense for the historical development of ideas and institutions. Beginning inside a putatively eternal scheme of "ideal" church-state relations, he soon shows that it is a logical fiction and that at every point its basic ideas and institutions are historically conditioned.

As the missing link for the passage from spiritual, evangelical freedom to a declaration of religious liberty, Father Murray points to the ideas and institutions gradually worked out by the political tradition of the West, particularly in Anglo-Saxon countries. In this context, the main point of that tradition is the concept of limited, non-ideological government; otherwise put, it is the depersonification of the state. The state does not make an act of faith, have a creed, decide questions of orthodoxy, or offer worship. Moreover, the common good of its citizens (as Bishop Wright of Pittsburgh pointed out to the Council) goes far beyond the limited goods over which the state has competence. The declaration of religious liberty, though rooted in the gospels, had to wait for historical evolution to supply ideas and institutions for the gospels to be made politically real and effective on this point.

Those council fathers who still live in the world view of the age of absolute kings and absolute logic, however, find it difficult to grasp the point of the declaration. They imagine – they are chiefly from Italy and Spain – that a state can be "Catholic" if it so declares itself; but a state is not a person. "Error has no rights,"

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they say, because for them the abstraction "error" (or "truth") is more compelling than living men who, fitfully, grope slowly for a little light. In proportion as they have personified the state, they have depersonified individual men.

At the Council, however, only the Dominican Cardinal Michael Browne of Ireland directly opposed the declaration; other speakers either supported it most warmly, favored strengthening it, or confined themselves to asking for this or that weakening modification. The declaration will come up for approval sometime before the end of this session (November 20), and estimates in Rome were that it would pass by at least 85 percent of the vote. The establishment of a national religion, as in England or Sweden, is not of itself contrary to the document; but negative restrictions on private or public exercise are – and such restrictions in nations like Spain are already yielding under advance moral pressure.

A Jewish observer at the Council, meanwhile, confided to me that the declaration on religious liberty was of more historical significance to his people than the specific statement on the Jews. But there is no disguising his hopes – and fears. Three times in the past that promised declaration on the Jews had been sidetracked: once by a preparatory commission before the Council began, once near the end of the second session, and then in the summer of 1964 when the coordinating commission under Cardinal Cicognani, who is also Vatican Secretary of State, succeeded in seriously weakening the good statement prepared the year before. The motives for this last blow are obscure. Certainly the Arab nations have been in violent opposition, raising serious threats against Christians in the Near East, and accusing Northern European prelates of wishing to salve their own consciences for Hitler's deeds at the expense of the Arabs. They protest, moreover, that the state of Israel always wants it both ways: political legitimation through the Bible, and a "nonpolitical" statement from the Council. But theological fundamentalism and naïveté concerning public opinion were also involved in the weakening of the draft.

Fortunately, in one of the most intense and moving meetings of the entire three sessions, council father after council father rose to demand that the omitted points of Cardinal Bea's original declaration be restored and that, besides, another part be added asking pardon of the Jews for crimes committed by Christians through history. The commission which will revise the document accordingly is Cardinal Bea's, so that there is every reason to suppose that the final declaration, overwhelmingly supported, will state: that all men, by their sins, are guilty of Christ's death; that the Jews as such, in the time of Christ as today, are not guilty thereof; and that even the few Jews who officially contributed to that death, not knowing what they did, received their pardon from One who judges where men dare not. More positively, the declaration sees Christians and Jews as serving that One and hopes that, beyond history, their family relationship will be revealed. It does not say, or imply, that Jews singly or in groups should be "converted"; but it does see Christianity as a "fuller" revelation of God. Taken together, the two declarations open a new era. MICHAEL NOVAK

Tires and Road Safety

by James Ridgeway

The federal government is moving into the whole area of car safety, but thus far legislation has been tentative and mild. The Department of Commerce is required to set standards for brake fluid and seat belts, but it doesn't have any real enforcement authority. A National Driver Register Service, also in Commerce, provides a federal clearinghouse containing names of persons whose driver licenses have been revoked. The scope of its activities has been broadened since it was set up in 1960. The Service now gets half a million queries a month.

The General Services Administration, which acts as the purchasing agent for the government, now is meeting with representatives of other government agencies, industry and independent experts, to lay out safety standards for passenger vehicles the government buys. The GSA could require manufacturers to install safety padding in dashboards and other parts of the passenger compartment, provide seat belts front and rear, install safety locks on doors, fail-safe brake systems, collapsible steering shafts, stronger bumpers and fenders. A governor or some other device could be put on motors to hold speeds below 80 miles per hour. For its technical advice, the GSA probably will

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rely heavily on the Society of Automotive Engineers. But since these are the people who designed the cars the government wants to make safer, it's hard to believe much will be wrung out of them. Still the government is in a strong bargaining position: It buys 35,000 autos a year.

By far the most likely area for stronger federal action is the tire field. Heavier cars traveling at high speeds over long distances put a tremendous strain on tires. But the tire industry insists on flooding the market with so-called "cheapies," tires that sell for $9.95. Esther Peterson, the President's adviser on consumer affairs, gets more complaints about tires than any other product, and for good reason. The market is absolute chaos. There are 17 major manufacturers, five of them giants (Firestone, General, Goodrich, Goodyear, US Rubber) and each one is likely to produce as many as six different lines or grades of tires. Some of these are sold under special brand names by auto accessory stores, discount houses, gas companies or department stores. There is no way of telling which tire is safer, or longer wearing; indeed, there are no standards whatever. One manufacturer's first-line tire may be as good as another's third line. Some of these tires are labeled one size, but when measured are another. The names attached to tires by manufacturers and distributors are meaningless. "Premium," for instance has nothing to do with safety or durability; it only assures that the tire is higher priced. As a manufacturer's tire line diminishes in quality, the names become gaudier. There is no way of comparing the tires a manufacturer puts out under his own name with ones he produces for a discount house sold under another label. Tread on one tire may look to be thicker than on another, but there is no telling the quality of the rubber itself.

Purchase of a tire is complicated because of car design. "Over the years vehicle manufacturers in an attempt to reduce costs have cut down the amount of tire which they are designing onto their vehicles," says Harry C. McCreary Jr., chairman of McCreary Tire & Rubber Co., one of the smaller tire producers. "This has finally reached a point where some vehicles are sitting on overloaded tires when they are empty before anyone gets in. . . . One of the major tire companies ran a study last winter. They weighed tourist cars that were traveling from the north into Florida and they found several station wagons – they are the biggest offenders, of course – that were more than 50 percent overloaded. . . . The problem is that the drivers of these station wagons don't realize just how thin the ice is that they are skating on when they pile five or six kids and a lot of baggage and start rolling down the thruway at 60 miles an hour on a tire that is 50, 60, 70 percent overloaded. It is very dangerous. Ultimately they have a blowout and some people get killed."

There is little hard information on how many accidents occur because of weak, defective or worn tires. The New York thruway, however, ranks tire failure as a major cause of vehicle accidents. Officials of the Indiana and Pennsylvania turnpikes say tire failure ranks second to driver fatigue as an accident cause. Ohio claims 10 percent of its turnpike accidents are due to defective tires, and New Jersey lists nine percent. Major Singleton Sheaffer, head of the state police patrolling the Pennsylvania turnpike, believes that tires cause more accidents than is generally thought. "Too often this killer slips through the net of blame," he stated, "under the name of 'too fast for conditions,' or 'hazardous highway conditions.' We need to strip off those disguises and identify this killer once and for all."

Speno's Losing Battle

In the past, efforts to set minimum safety standards for tires have been frustrated by the auto and rubber manufacturing industries. Edward Speno, a Republican member of New York State's Senate, fought hard for tire standards there. A year ago he went to Akron, the tire capital, and asked the presidents of the big five rubber manufacturers to help him write legislation. They agreed, and Speno's committee went to work on standards for skidding resistance, cornering ability and blowout resistance. He also wanted a law to prevent cars from being overloaded. The rubber people started dragging their feet, whittling away the bill. Then, in January, Speno remembers, "I received at my home a call from Akron from the president of one of the big companies, a very friendly call. It had to do with finances for my next election campaign and national public relations expenses. 'You're not serious about this legislation, Senator,' he said." In February, top officers of big tire manufacturers landed in the midst of a snowstorm at Albany airport for another conference with Speno. According to Speno, they swore he could depend on their cooperation, but please, no publicity. In March, the Automobile Manufacturers Association, representing the auto industry, and the Rubber Manufacturers Association, speaking for the rubber producers, came together in Albany and openly opposed Speno's diluted bill. After that lobbyists descended in droves on Albany, and the watered-down bill which had passed the Senate was buried in committee in the Assembly. Speno was beaten, but he probably had a good deal to do with persuading the Rubber Manufacturers Association to produce its own set of safety standards to be met voluntarily by the tire industry. These entail no enforcement plan.

The federal government has tire specifications which must be met by suppliers of tires for the motor vehicles

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it buys. These came out of a testing program carried on by the National Bureau of Standards. During the first years of the Eisenhower Administration, this program faded. The specifications remained in effect, but roads have changed, cars are speedier, and these have brought about changes in tire design, so that the specifications are out of date. Now, if a company wants to sell to the government, it tests its own tires against these outmoded standards in its own laboratories, certifies that they pass, and is home free. Experts at the National Bureau of Standards say that few if any manufacturers would fail to meet government specifications. The program, in effect, is a considerable triumph for the rubber lobby which got the Bureau of Standards off the scene. (The Bureau has continued to test small numbers of tires for use by the FBI vehicles.)

In the federal House, Kenneth A. Roberts, of Alabama, is putting forward legislation to set safety standards for tires. Gaylord Nelson, in the Senate, also wants to see standards set up. A subcommittee headed by Hubert Humphrey has urged that tires be rated according to government standards of safety, endurance, general quality and construction. This would enable the consumer to know what he is buying.

Who's Who in Vietnam?

by Bernard B. Fall

"They have no social traditions, no tombs, no altars." That incredible statement – a sheer anthropological idiocy if applied to *any* human society – can be found in the leading paragraphs of a US Information Service booklet on Vietnam's 700,000-odd mountain tribal people, published in Saigon in 1962 for the guidance of Americans who had to work with them. It explains why, after 10 years of being deeply committed in that country, Americans are still "taken by surprise by recent events in Vietnam."

Yet the problem of South Vietnam's mountain minorities has been part of the Vietnam problem for the past decade. Called in recent American parlance *montagnards* (a French word by which the French never called them) these tribesmen represent the aboriginal population of the area, which is largely of Malayo-Polynesian and Mon-Khmer stock. It was gradually pushed back into the hill areas of the whole Southeast Asian peninsula when the more sophisticated Thai (that is, Laotian, Siamese and Burmans) and Sino-Mongoloid (Vietnamese) ethnic groups penetrated the area from the north about 1,000 years ago. Oppressed and despised by the lowlanders who called them and treated them as slaves and savages (to this day the general Vietnamese term for the tribes is *Moi, i.e.*, "savage"), the tribesmen greeted the arrival of white colonizers with unalloyed relief. That is why during World War II the pro-Allied guerrillas in Burma were all Kachin, Chin and Karen, while the lowland Burmese (the Burmans) were pro-Japanese; and why to this day in Vietnam an American Special Forces' man's best introduction to the Vietnamese tribesmen is his white face: The French also had treated the tribes fairly and many of the village chiefs are former French Army sergeants.

How far-reaching is the sympathy for the white man, as a "buffer" between the tribes and the lowlanders, became clear in an almost-comical episode in 1888-1890. A French adventurer sought to imitate the "White Rajahs" of Borneo and had himself proclaimed "Marie 1st, King of the Sedangs" and began to issue stamps, medals and titles of nobility in the name of his ephemeral realm. It took the French colonial administration several campaigns to persuade the tribesmen that the "White Rajah" from Paris was the real one.

The struggle for independence brought the tribes into the 20th Century. Although representing less than five percent of the South Vietnamese population, they occupy more than 60 percent of the country's territory; and, as the accompanying map shows, their vast holdings completely hem in the lowland Vietnamese in compact "pockets," particularly in Central Vietnam. The French trained separate Vietnamese units made up almost entirely of tribal troops and officered in the lower ranks by rapidly trained tribesmen. Some specially selected lowland Vietnamese also served with them. One of them was Lê Kan Kim, who became chief of staff of the 4th Mountain Division in 1951. It was he, now one of the four allegedly "neutralist" generals under house arrest, whom Premier Nguyen Khanh wanted to use during the September, 1964 tribal rebel-

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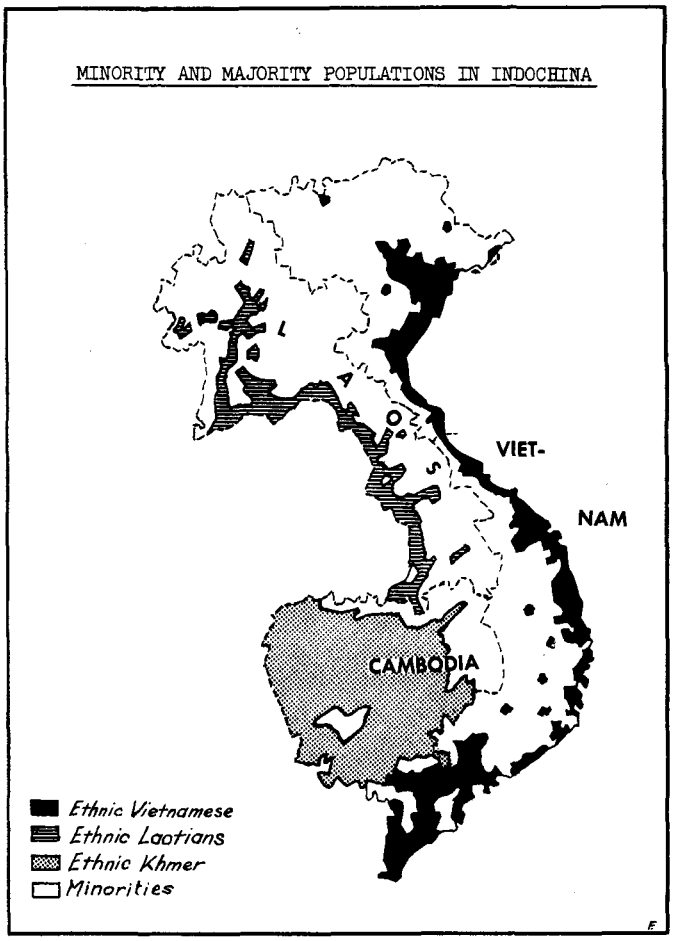
lion to negotiate with the tribesmen. The "young Turks" (or rather: young wolves) from among the military around Khanh prevented this, although Kim is one of the few officers the tribesmen know and trust.

When the late Ngo Dinh Diem took over Vietnam, his solution for the tribesmen was "equality" with the lowland Vietnamese and their "integration" with them. Diem's American advisers, inasmuch as they had ever bothered to try to understand the problem, thought of it in terms of the American Indian problem – which it exactly was, except that the mountain tribes had no taste for genocide and looked to North Vietnam for an alternative. To the mountain tribes, as they saw it, "equality" turned out to be an absolute right of the lowland Vietnamese to colonize the hill areas and to drive the tribesmen into the most inhospitable areas left over; and "integration" turned out to mean closing the tribal schools where classes were taught in native dialects lovingly transliterated into Latin script by French missionaries. Already in June, 1957, the foremost American scholar in that field, Gerald C. Hickey, reported back to the US aid mission in Saigon that the mountain tribes were bitterly discontented with the new regime of Diem: "The Vietnamese talk equality," Hickey quotes a group of tribesmen, "but they don't mean what they say . . . in their hearts, they want to dominate us. They are colonialists. . . . They don't mean it when they call us 'brothers'. Even little Vietnamese call Mountaineers [civil servants] *'moi'*. . . . Under the French the schools were better. The Vietnamese have better schools, but the Mountaineer schools only get worse – no money, no teachers and no directors."

And Hickey also warned the US mission in Saigon that the Communist Viet-Minh had taken along with them in 1954, when Vietnam was divided, thousands of Southern tribesmen and the *elite* of the leaders; and that they were infiltrating back (already in 1957!) trained, lowland propagandists who not only spoke the local dialects but who even broke their front teeth and wore loincloths to conform with local mores.

Mr. Hickey's advice went as unheeded as that of Frederic Wickert, then a psychology professor at Michgan State, who two years later, after a personal survey among the tribesmen, reported that: "The tribesmen see themselves starved to death. They feel that the Vietnamese are letting diseases, such as smallpox, kill them off. Too, they feel that the Vietnamese are trying to force them to give up their culture." And Wickert also warned of the Communist infiltrators who "do not assume the superior airs that too many Vietnamese officials in tribal country do."



But all those warnings (including my own, which paralleled those of Hickey and Wickert) fell on totally deaf ears. One unabashed apologist of the Diem regime dismissed all this well-meant advice as a "passion for finding fault with everything done by the Vietnamese," and defended his own hopelessly rosy view of the tribal situation by saying that he owed his insights "to the man who has both a greater knowledge of and a deeper concern for the minorities than any other person in Vietnam – President Ngo Dinh Diem himself." It is on the basis of that sort of poppycock that policy was made in Saigon (and Washington) about an extremely sensitive problem. The results are here for everyone to see.

On the Communist side, the tribal problem was handled differently: two "autonomous zones" were set up in North Vietnam, where tribal leaders – though of course solidly "boxed in" by Communist cadres – deal with the local affairs of their own territory, with the help of tribal civil servants and even a tribal militia force. At Hanoi, an Advisory Council on Minorities is headed by Major General Le Quang Ba, a Thai tribesman who was a full division commander in the war against the French (the present Saigon regime rarely allows a tribesman to even receive a lieutenant's com-

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BERNARD B. FALL *is Professor of International Relations at Howard University, and is the author of* The Two Vietnams, *published last year.*

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mission); the Council advises the central government on all matters affecting the tribes. A central Minorities School in Hanoi (which also trains tribesmen from South Vietnam) provides the tribal areas with well-indoctrinated and able administrative officers, teachers and public health personnel. Nothing like this has been tried in South Vietnam.

How well the Communists succeeded among the Southern tribesmen became obvious in mid-1961, when full-fledged 2,500-man Communist mountain regiments began to appear in the hill areas. In its two-volume study on Communist aggression in South Vietnam published in December, 1961, the State Department mentions casually (and apparently without at all realizing the importance of the fact) that members of the Viet Cong's 120th Regiment, commanded by Colonel Y-Bloc, had been identified and captured. Y-Bloc is a *tribal* name and the 120th Regiment is a Hré tribal regiment. By 1963, all the other Communist tribal regular units which had slowly strangled the French in the highlands were also back in business: the 108th, the 126th and the 803d Regiment, made of Jarai, Rhadé and Bahnar tribesmen. Communist radio propaganda, couched in mountain dialects, had begun as early as 1956; South Vietnamese radio programs addressed to the tribesmen began four years later. And while Saigon still preached the hollow myth of "equality," the Communists were preaching the heady idea of autonomy for the mountain zones.

Tribal Mutiny

A Communist document captured by American advisers in 1963 explicitly sets forth these promises, which were also included in "The Liberation Front" program of 1960, but which were now made even more appealing: "The nationalities have the right to maintain or change customs and habits, use language and script, develop a national culture of their own. . . . The localities with minority peoples living concentrated are allowed to form themselves into autonomous regions, after the homeland has been entirely liberated and the government will fall into the people's hands."

Considering the treatment the tribes have been getting from Saigon for 10 years, that program carries great emotional appeal, and "after the homeland has been entirely liberated" is a clear invitation to the tribes to join the Communist lowland Vietnamese in the war against the South Vietnamese government. Even a hill tribe flag suddenly appeared; green-red-black with three white stars representing the major tribal groupings, and completely different from the red-and-sky-blue VC flag; no doubt to make the promise of later autonomy more real. This flag was waved by tribal soldiers at their American advisers when they mutinied around the hill town of Ban Mé Thuot on September 22.

The position of the US Special Forces in all this is unenviable. For three years, the Special Forces had slowly rebuilt tribal confidence, with as little interference (even from the CIA, which at first controlled their operations) as possible. By June, 1962, much of key Darlac Province had been cleared. Thirty-six Special Forces detachments began fielding *montagnard* strike companies. On July 1, 1963, the Special Forces also assumed control over the Civil Irregular Defense Groups (CIDG), the equivalent of village militia units in the hill areas, and the Viet Cong began to feel the effect of the pinch on its transit lines to Laos and North Vietnam. Surely, the Vietnamese war was not going to be won in the tribal areas (it is the Vietnamese-inhabited Mekong delta which will probably decide the outcome of that, if anything ever will), but the progressive clearing of the vast mountain areas would have helped immensely.

But on May 15, 1964, orders came to integrate the American-run Special Forces units into the Vietnamese Army corps in whose area they operated; and Vietnamese lowland officers and non-coms, who hitherto had been sedulously kept away from the tribesmen, began to take over command. The effects were not long in coming. *Montagnard* units deserted *en masse* in many places, sometimes after murdering lowland Vietnamese cadres, and often taking along their high-powered American weapons. Some camps were betrayed from within by disaffected tribal units; others were attacked by VC units backed by tribal deserters.

Finally, during a tense week beginning on September 22, the tribesmen showed the full effect of years of Vietnamese mistreatment, official American misunderstanding and clever Communist propaganda. They temporarily occupied Ban Mé Thuot, seized its radio transmitter to clamor for autonomy, raised their new flag over the Special Forces camps and massacred 60 of their Vietnamese officers. The alien Americans had to step in as negotiators between the "Vietnamese" tribesman and their lowland "brothers." The Special Forces were compelled to play an uncomfortable role which the tribesmen may well construe as a betrayal of their interests in favor of Saigon.

As long as the Vietnamese government clings to the fiction of "integrating" the tribes against their will, the military advisers who work with the tribesmen – and who know that the tribesmen will fight only for the right to live undisturbed – will always sooner or later clash with the too well-insulated policymakers, who have never understood the emotional appeal of local autonomy, and who seemingly believe that a human being has to have a seersucker suit and an advanced education to be entitled to social traditions, tombs, and altars.

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The 88th Congress

Twenty-four Key Votes

Rating the Performance of Legislators

Any selection of "key" votes by which to set apart members of Congress is arbitrary: sheep and goats are easily separated in the animal kingdom; the political kingdom abounds with geeps and shoats. In picking 24 votes from among hundreds cast in the House and Senate during the past two years, we have tried to choose those which have a substantial bearing on welfare, education, civil liberties, peace and security, full employment. In many instances, the roll call on final passage (or rejection) has been ignored; we have preferred instead to list the ayes and nays on a more revealing amendment preceding final action.

It goes without saying that no Representative or Senator should be judged on one or two votes. The complete record of performance includes parliamentary skill and plain industriousness. Some Congressmen are diligent committee workers, participate in the discussion and framing of bills; some do little more than show up for the final vote, and some don't even do that. Moreover, a legislator whose record is generally admirable may vote against a measure he favors, because constituent pressures dictate that particular decision. More than once, the national intent has been served by a Congressman's preferring to live to fight another day. Nor do the 24 votes listed here necessarily represent the most important issues that have come to the attention of Congress. Many major proposals never reach the floor, are bottled up in committees by hostile chairmen who, in turn, are kept in power by the seniority system; or they are defeated in committee by a majority, which might not, however, represent the view of a majority of all the legislators in either chamber.

In putting together the tabulations that follow, we have leaned heavily on the reliable record-keeping of the Congressional Quarterly.

THE EDITORS

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SENATE

1. MASS TRANSPORTATION: *April 4, 1963.*
It is estimated that about half the US population will, within two decades, live in 40 urban complexes. With this in mind, President Kennedy recommended adoption of a Mass Transportation Act, providing $375 million in matching grants to local and state governments for construction, acquisition and improvement of mass transportation services, contingent upon the development of coordinated, local programs. The bill was approved, 52-41.

46 Democrats and 6 Republicans voted for the bill; 17 Democrats and 24 Republicans voted against it. (A vote for is marked plus.)

2. YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS: *April 10, 1963.*
Establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps in the Labor Department, modeled on the CCC of the 1930's, was the major innovation in the Youth Employment Act proposed by the Kennedy Administration. Enrollment the first year would be limited to 15,000 young men, ages 16 to 22, for six months to two years. Enrollees would be paid $60 a month at the start. An appropriation of $50 million was authorized for fiscal 1964. The key vote here was on an amendment offered by Senator Prouty (R, Vt.) to delete that section of the Youth Employment Act providing for a Conservation Corps. The amendment was rejected 41-47.

16 Democrats and 25 Republicans voted to accept Prouty's amendment; 44 Democrats and 3 Republicans voted against it. (A vote for is marked minus.)

3. TEST BAN TREATY: *September 24, 1963.*
It took five years to negotiate a ban on all further nuclear tests, except underground. The treaty was initialed on July 25, 1963, by the US, UK and USSR. Acknowledging that the agreement represented a calculated risk, the Administration pointed out that Russian testing would also be retarded by the agreement, and that the ban would not alter the existing US nuclear lead. The treaty was offered as a small step toward *detente.* It was approved by 80-19.

55 Democrats and 25 Republicans voted for approval; 11 Democrats and 8 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

4. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: *October 7, 1963.*
Concerned over the young unemployed and school dropouts, many of them Negro, President Kennedy in his June 19 civil rights message recommended increasing substantially over a 5-year period federal grants to states for vocational education and work-study programs. Passage came after Senator Goldwater had proposed cutting sharply the authorized funds and stripping the bill of all work study and residential vocational education programs. The Goldwater amendment lost, 23-52.

6 Democrats and 17 Republicans voted to amend. 45 Democrats and 7 Republicans voted against. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus.)

5. WHEAT SALES: *November 26, 1963.*
Something close to rebellion swept Congress when the Administration announced that the Commerce Department would approve export licenses for private traders seeking to sell wheat and other agricultural products to the Soviet Union and other East European countries "at the regular world prices." It then developed that wheat sales hinged on Export-Import Bank guarantees of private credits. Several attempts to outlaw such guarantees ensued, and failed. Mr. Kennedy said that any such action would "jeopardize not only the projected sale of wheat to the Soviet Union, but possible sales of important other quantities of other products like tobacco, corn and cotton." The issue came to a head the day after President Kennedy was buried. With President Johnson as firmly opposed as his predecessor, the Senate agreed to table (and kill) an amendment by Senator Mundt (R, S.D.) to forbid Ex-Im credit guarantees. The vote was 57-35.

48 Democrats and 9 Republicans voted to table; 11 Democrats and 24 Republicans voted for the Mundt amendment. (A vote to table is marked plus.)

6. OIL DEPLETION: *February 6, 1964.*
Not since Harry Truman has a President supported a reduction in a 27.5 percent depletion allowance that has helped to place six oil companies among the nation's 10 richest manufacturing corporations. But this year the proposal of Senator Douglas (D, Ill.) to substitute a sliding scale made its best showing yet. Douglas suggested a 15-percent allowance for companies with gross incomes above $5 million and 21 percent for companies with gross incomes between $1 million and $5 million (those with less than $1 million would continue receiving 27.5 percent). His amendment lost, 35-57.

26 Democrats and 9 Republicans supported Douglas; 38 Democrats and 19 Republicans did not. (A vote for the Douglas substitute is marked plus.)

7. TAX CUT: *February 7, 1964.*
The Senate accepted the bill approved by its Finance Committee for an $11.6 billion tax cut over two years, lowering personal income-tax rates by an average of 19.7 percent and also reducing corporate taxes. That bill passed 77-21.

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56 Democrats and 21 Republicans voted for; 11 Democrats and 10 Republicans voted against. (A vote for the tax cut is marked plus.)

8. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT: *June 19, 1964.*
After a three-month filibuster by Southern Democrats punctuated by 121 roll-call votes, almost all weakening amendments were successfully beaten down by a coalition of Northern Democrats and Republicans, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed. On June 10, the Senate agreed, for the first time in its history of battles over civil rights, to "gag" a minority by limiting further debate to one hour per member. Nine days and 108 roll-calls later, the bill was adopted, 73-27.

46 Democrats and 27 Republicans voted for; 21 Democrats and 6 Republicans voted against. (A vote for the Act is marked plus.)

9. POVERTY PROGRAM: *July 23, 1964.*
The debate on President Johnson's poverty program rang with cries of "states' rights." The issue was put sharply by Senator Holland (D, Fla.) who offered an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 that would permit state governors to veto, within 30 days, any Job Corps or Community Development projects proposed for their states. His amendment lost, 46-49.

17 Democrats and 29 Republicans voted for the Holland amendment; 46 Democrats and 3 Republicans voted against it. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus.)

10. FOREIGN LOAN RATES: *August 11, 1964.*
Experts on the economies of underdeveloped countries regard low interest rates and long maturities as the only practical terms for development loans. So it was a major setback when the Senate, on a motion by Senator Mundt (R, S.D.), decreed higher rates and a maximum maturity of 25 years for all US loans. The vote was 50-38.

26 Democrats and 24 Republicans voted for Mundt's amendment; 32 Democrats and 6 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked minus.)

11. HOSPITAL CARE FOR THE AGED: *September 2, 1964.*
Medicare – the most controversial domestic welfare proposal in many years – cleared the Senate for the first time this past September, with strong backing from President Johnson. An amendment to the House bill by Senator Gore (D, Tenn.), authorized hospital care benefits for persons 65 and over, financed through social security. The amendment (which later proved unacceptable to House conferees) was accepted, 49-44.

44 Democrats and 5 Republicans voted for Medicare; 16 Democrats and 28 Republicans voted against. (A vote for the Gore amendment is marked plus.)

12. REAPPORTIONMENT: *September 24, 1964.*
Congressional efforts to nullify or delay the impact of the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" rulings on the apportionment of state legislatures made headway when the Senate agreed to a relatively innocuous "sense of Congress" statement, offered as a rider to the Foreign Aid Authorization, suggesting a six-month delay in the enforcement of court orders to reapportion. It was approved 44-38. (The resolution was subsequently abandoned by a Senate-House conference committee.)

37 Democrats and 7 Republicans voted for; 15 Democrats and 23 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

HOUSE

1. RULES COMMITTEE: *January 9, 1963.*
In 1961, President Kennedy and Speaker Rayburn barely persuaded the House to enlarge membership of its Rules Committee from 12 to 15, in order to obtain a majority willing to clear key Administration measures for floor consideration. The expansion – for the life of the 87th Congress only – was approved, 217-212. In 1963, the House voted to keep its Rules Committee membership at 15 permanently, 235-196.

207 Democrats and 28 Republicans approved; 48 Democrats and 148 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

2. PUBLIC WORKS: *April 10, 1963.*
When the Administration asked for $500 million to complete the accelerated Public Works Program authorized in 1962, the Appropriations Committee voted 20-19 to deny the entire request. This action was reversed by the House, which appropriated $450 million for this purpose by a margin of 228-184.

208 Democrats and 20 Republicans voted for; 33 Democrats and 151 Republicans voted against. (A vote for the appropriation is marked plus.)

3. DEBT CEILING: *May 15, 1963.*
Fiscal orthodoxy exacted its pound of flesh by forcing the Administration to mount Capitol Hill three times in 1963 for increases in the statutory debt limit. On the first occasion, only former Speaker Joe Martin among the Republicans voted for a temporary ceiling of $309 billion, which was approved 213-204.

212 Democrats and 1 Republican voted for; 32 Democrats and 172 Republicans voted against. (A vote for the new ceiling is marked plus.)

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4. CRIMINAL JUSTICE: *August 12, 1963.*
For the fourth time since 1958, the House District Committee drew up a bill "to stem the criminal tide now running in the nation's capital" by nullifying the Mallory and Durham rules of evidence (strongly safeguarding the rights of the accused) and by increasing the investigative powers of the police. Again the House passed the measure, after rejecting a move by Representative Mathias (R, Md.) to recommit it. The vote on the Mathias motion was 114-222.

107 Democrats and 7 Republicans voted to recommit; 98 Democrats and 124 Republicans voted against recommittal. (A vote to recommit is marked plus.)

5. TAX CUT: *September 25, 1963.*
The largest tax cut in history – President Kennedy's unique legacy to economic policy – offered as a stimulant to investment and consumer spending, finally moved toward enactment when the House approved the measure, 271-155.

223 Democrats and 48 Republicans voted for the cut; 29 Democrats and 126 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

6. WHEAT SALES: *December 16, 1963.*
A large monkey wrench was tossed into Administration plans to permit sales of wheat to the Soviet Union when the House voted (it later changed its mind) to bar the Export-Import Bank from guaranteeing any credits to the Communist bloc for the purchase of US commodities. The vote, on a motion by Representative Jensen (R, Iowa), was 218-169.

66 Democrats and 152 Republicans voted to bar a credit guarantee; 162 Democrats and 7 Republicans voted the other way. (A vote for is marked minus.)

7. CIVIL RIGHTS: *February 10, 1964.*
Months of careful bipartisan negotiation prepared the ground for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by a heavy majority of Republicans and Northern Democrats. The most controversial section of the Act outlaws discrimination in access to public accommodations and public facilities. The final tally was 290-130.

152 Democrats and 138 Republicans voted for the Act; 96 Democrats and 34 Republicans voted against. (A vote for is marked plus.)

8. INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: *February 26, 1964.*
President Johnson met his first setback at the hands of the conservative coalition when the House voted to recommit a bill authorizing the US to pay $312 million as its share of a $750 million increase in the resources of the International Development Association. The vote on Representative Talcott's (R, Calif.) motion to recommit (and ostensibly to kill) was 208-189.

71 Democrats and 137 Republicans voted to recommit; 161 Democrats and 28 Republicans voted against recommittal. (A vote to recommit is marked minus.)

9. FOREIGN AID: *July 1, 1964.*
After the deep cuts inflicted on foreign aid in 1963, Congress voiced substantial support for President Johnson's smaller '64 request. The House passed a $3.3 billion appropriation, 231-174, after rejecting a motion by Representative Rhodes (R, Ariz.) to cut economic assistance by another $247.8 million. Rhodes' motion lost, 198-208.

55 Democrats and 143 Republicans voted for the cut; 185 Democrats and 23 Republicans voted against the cut. (A vote for the cut is marked minus.)

10. POVERTY PROGRAM: *August 7, 1964.*
One of President Johnson's "must" bills – the Economic Opportunity Act authorizing $947.5 million in fiscal '65 for programs to combat poverty – was threatened with sudden death when the chairman of the Rules Committee, Howard Smith of Virginia, moved to strike the enacting clause. The move to strike was turned down, 197-225, and the House then passed the bill.

41 Democrats and 156 Republicans voted for Smith's motion to strike; 206 Democrats and 19 Republicans voted against. (A vote to strike the enacting clause is marked minus.)

11. REAPPORTIONMENT: *August 19, 1964.*
Representative Tuck (D, Va.) proposed to deprive the federal courts of all jurisdiction over the reapportionment of state legislatures. Although deemed unconstitutional by most experts, the Tuck bill sailed through the House on a wave of Republican and Southern Democratic votes. The ballot was 218-175.

96 Democrats and 122 Republicans voted for: 140 Democrats and 35 Republicans voted against. (A vote for the Tuck bill is marked minus.)

12. SURPLUS SALES: *September 3, 1964.*
For 10 years, the US has supplemented foreign aid by selling surplus farm goods to poorer countries for local currency, and then giving or lending the money back to the countries for development purposes. And for 10 years the President has used this PL-480 Program to encourage the more independent Communist regimes; first Yugoslavia, then Poland. On a motion by Representative Findley (R, Ill.) the House voted to bar hereafter PL-480 sales to any nation controlled or dominated by a Communist government. The vote was 183-175.

40 Democrats and 143 Republicans voted for the ban; 162 Democrats and 13 Republicans voted against. (A vote for the ban is marked minus.)

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THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	Mass Transportation	Youth Employment	Test Ban Treaty	Vocational Education	Wheat Sales	Oil Depletion	Tax Cut	Civil Rights	Poverty Program	Foreign Loans	Hospital Care for Aged	Reapportionment
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA												
Hill (D)	+	−	+	+	O	−	+	−	−	+	O	O
Sparkman (D)	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	−	−	+	−	−
ALASKA												
Bartlett (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gruening (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
ARIZONA												
Hayden (D)	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
Goldwater (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	O
ARKANSAS												
Fulbright (D)	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
McClellan (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
CALIFORNIA												
Salinger (D)										+	+	+
Kuchel (R)	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
COLORADO												
Allott (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Dominick (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
CONNECTICUT												
Dodd (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Ribicoff (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE												
Boggs (R)	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Williams (R)	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
FLORIDA												
Holland (D)	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
Smathers (D)	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
GEORGIA												
Russell (D)	+	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−
Talmadge (D)	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
HAWAII												
Inouye (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fong (R)	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
IDAHO												
Church (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jordan (R)	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
ILLINOIS												
Douglas (D)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dirksen (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
INDIANA												
Bayh (D)	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hartke (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
IOWA												
Hickenlooper (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Miller (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
KANSAS												
Carlson (R)	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Pearson (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
KENTUCKY												
Cooper (R)	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
Morton (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
LOUISIANA												
Ellender (D)	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Long (D)	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
MAINE												
Muskie (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith (R)	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
MARYLAND												
Brewster (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Beall (R)	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
MASSACHUSETTS												
Kennedy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
Saltonstall (R)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
MICHIGAN												
Hart (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McNamara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MINNESOTA												
Humphrey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McCarthy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Mass Transportation	Youth Employment	Test Ban Treaty	Vocational Education	Wheat Sales	Oil Depletion	Tax Cut	Civil Rights	Poverty Program	Foreign Loans	Hospital Care for Aged	Reapportionment
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSISSIPPI												
Eastland (D)	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Stennis (D)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
MISSOURI												
Long (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Symington (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
MONTANA												
Mansfield (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Metcalf (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA												
Curtis (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Hruska (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
NEVADA												
Bible (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
Cannon (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	−
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
McIntyre (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Cotton (R)	−	−	+	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
NEW JERSEY												
Williams (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Case (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
NEW MEXICO												
Anderson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	+
Mechem (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
NEW YORK												
Javits (R)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Keating (R)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA												
Ervin (D)	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Jordan (D)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
NORTH DAKOTA												
Burdick (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
Young (R)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
OHIO												
Lausche (D)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
Young (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
OKLAHOMA												
Edmondson (D)	−	O	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	O	−	+
Monroney (D)	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
OREGON												
Morse (D)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
Neuberger (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA												
Clark (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scott (R)	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
RHODE ISLAND												
Pastore (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Johnston (D)	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
Thurmond (D)*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA												
McGovern (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mundt (R)	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
TENNESSEE												
Gore (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
Walters (D)			+	+	+	−	+	−	−	O	−	+
TEXAS												
Yarborough (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
Tower (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
UTAH												
Moss (D)	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
Bennett (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
VERMONT												
Aiken (R)	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
Prouty (R)	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Robertson (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON												
Jackson (D)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Magnuson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
Randolph (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN												
Nelson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Proxmire (D)	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
WYOMING												
McGee (D)	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Simpson (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

New Republic ratings:

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*** Strom Thurmond changed his party allegiance from Democratic to Republican on September 16, 1964.**

A short explanation of each of the votes appears on pages 14-16.

Votes compiled from reports of the Congressional Quarterly.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

	1 Rules Committee	2 Public Works	3 Debt Ceiling	4 Criminal Justice	5 Tax Cut	6 Wheat Sales	7 Civil Rights	8 Int'l Devel. Fund	9 Foreign Aid	10 Poverty Program	11 Reapportionment	12 Surplus Food Sales
ALABAMA												
AL Andrews (D)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	/	–	–	–	–
AL Elliott (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	O	+	+	–	+
AL Grant (D)	–	O	O	–	+	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
AL Huddleston (D)	–	+	/	/	+	/	/	/	/	/	+	/
AL Jones (D)	+	+	+	/	+	/	/	+	+	/	/	/
AL Rains (D)	+	+	+	/	+	O	/	O	+	/	/	O
AL Roberts (D)	+	+	+	/	+	+	/	O	+	/	/	O
AL Selden (D)	–	+	+	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
ALASKA												
AL Rivers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ARIZONA												
3 Senner (D)	+	+	+	+	+	/	+	O	+	+	–	+
2 Udall (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Rhodes (R)	–	–	–	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
ARKANSAS												
1 Gathings (D)	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
4 Harris (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+
2 Mills (D)	+	+	+	/	+	+	/	+	+	/	/	+
3 Trimble (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
CALIFORNIA												
5 Burton (D)								+	+	+	+	+
7 Cohelan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Edwards (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Hagen (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	O	+	+	–	+
34 Hanna (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Johnson (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
4 Leggett (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 McFall (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Miller (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Moss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33 Sheppard (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
16 Sisk (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	/	+
37 Van Deerlin (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Baldwin (R)	+	–	/	–	/	–	+	/	–	/	–	/
1 Clausen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	/	/	/	–	/
10 Gubser (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	/	/	/	–	/
6 Mailliard (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	/	/	/	+	/
38 Martin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	/	/	–	/
12 Talcott (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	/	/	/	–	/
13 Teague (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	/	/	/	–	/
35 Utt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	/	/	/	/	–	/
36 Wilson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	/	/	/	–	/
11 Younger (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	/	/	/	–	/
Los Angeles County												
29 Brown (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
27 Burkhalter (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
25 Cameron (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Corman (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Hawkins (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Holifield (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 King (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 Roosevelt (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
30 Roybal (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31 Wilson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
28 Bell (R)	/	–	–	–	+	–	+	/	–	/	+	O
23 Clawson (R)				–	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
32 Hosmer (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	/	/	/	+	/
24 Lipscomb (R)	–	–	–	–	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
20 Smith (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	/	/	/	/	/
COLORADO												
4 Aspinall (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1 Rogers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Brotzman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	/	/	/	/	/
3 Chenoweth (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	/	/	/	/	/
CONNECTICUT												
1 Daddario (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Giaimo (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
AL Grabowski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
5 Monagan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 St. Onge (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Sibal (R)	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–

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*The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears on pages 14-16.

Votes compiled from reports of the Congressional Quarterly.

	1 Rules Committee	2 Public Works	3 Debt Ceiling	4 Criminal Justice	5 Tax Cut	6 Wheat Sales	7 Civil Rights	8 Int'l Devel. Fund	9 Foreign Aid	10 Poverty Program	11 Reapportionment	12 Surplus Food Sales
DELAWARE												
AL McDowell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLORIDA												
2 Bennett (D)	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	/	/	–	–
4 Fascell (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
9 Fuqua (D)	–	–	+	/	+	/	/	/	/	+	/	/
10 Gibbons (D)	+	–	+	/	+	–	–	+	/	+	+	–
7 Haley (D)	–	–	–	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
5 Herlong (D)	–	–	+	/	+	/	/	/	/	/	/	+
8 Matthews (D)	–	+	+	/	+	/	/	+	/	/	/	+
3 Pepper (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Rogers (D)	–	+	–	/	+	/	/	/	/	/	+	/
1 Sikes (D)	+	–	+	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
12 Cramer (R)	–	–	–	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	+	/
11 Gurney (R)	–	–	–	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
GEORGIA												
7 Davis (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
4 Flynt (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	O	/	/	O
3 Forrester (D)	+	+	O	–	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	O
1 Hagan (D)	+	+	+	–	+	/	/	/	O	/	/	O
9 Landrum (D)	+	+	+	–	+	O	/	/	+	+	/	O
2 Pilcher (D)	+	+	+	–	/	/	/	/	O	+	/	O
10 Stephens (D)	+	+	–	–	+	/	/	+	+	+	–	O
8 Tuten (D)	+	+	+	–	+	/	/	/	+	+	–	+
6 Vinson (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	/	+	+	+	/	+
5 Weltner (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
HAWAII												
AL Gill (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
AL Matsunaga (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IDAHO												
2 Harding (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 White (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
ILLINOIS												
21 Gray (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
24 Price (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Shipley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	–	+	+	–	+
16 Anderson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
17 Arends (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
20 Findley (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
14 Hoffman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	–	O	–
12 McClory (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
19 McLoskey (R)	–	–	–		–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
18 Michel (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
15 Reid (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
22 Springer (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
Chicago—Cook County												
1 Dawson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
9 Finnegan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
5 Kluczynski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Libonati (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Murphy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Vacancy												
2 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Pucinski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Rostenkowski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Collier (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
4 Derwinski (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
13 Rumsfeld (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
INDIANA												
3 Brademas (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Denton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Madden (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Roush (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Adair (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
7 Bray (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
11 Bruce (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	O	/	–	–
2 Halleck (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
10 Harvey (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	O
6 Roudebush (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	/
9 Wilson (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	O	/	/	–	–
IOWA												
5 Smith (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Bromwell (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
3 Gross (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	/	/	–	–
6 Hoeven (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	O	–
7 Jensen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	/	/	–	–
4 Kyl (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
1 Schwengel (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	/	+	–
KANSAS												
2 Avery (R)	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	O	/	–	O
1 Dole (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	–
3 Ellsworth (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	/	/	–	+
4 Shriver (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	+
5 Skubitz (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	/	/	–	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	Rules Committee	Public Works	Debt Ceiling	Criminal Justice	Tax Cut	Wheat Sales	Civil Rights	Int'l Devel. Fund	Foreign Aid	Poverty Program	Reapportionment	Surplus Food Sales
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KENTUCKY												
4 Chelf (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
2 Natcher (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
7 Perkins (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1 Stubblefield (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
6 Watts (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
5 Siler (R)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–
3 Snyder (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
LOUISIANA												
2 Boggs (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
1 Hebert (D)	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
8 Long (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
6 Morrison (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
5 Passman (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Thompson (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
4 Waggonner (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Willis (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	O	–	+	–	+
MAINE												
2 McIntire (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O
1 Tupper (R)	+	+	–	–	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	O
MARYLAND												
4 Fallon (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	O	+	+	+	+
7 Friedel (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Garmatz (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Lankford (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
2 Long (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
AL Sickles (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Mathias (R)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Morton (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
MASSACHUSETTS												
2 Boland (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Burke (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Donohue (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Macdonald (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 McCormack (D)*												
8 O'Neill (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Philbin (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Bates (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1 Conte (R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
12 Keith (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
10 Martin (R)	+	–	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	O
5 Morse (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
MICHIGAN												
7 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
AL Staebler (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Vacancy												
18 Broomfield (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
10 Cederberg (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
6 Chamberlain (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
5 Ford (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
9 Griffin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
8 Harvey (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	O
4 Hutchinson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Johansen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Knox (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Meader (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Detroit—Wayne County												
13 Diggs (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
15 Dingell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
17 Griffiths (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
16 Lesinski (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	O	+	+	O
1 Nedzi (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
14 Ryan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
MINNESOTA												
8 Blatnik (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Fraser (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Karth (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Olson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Langen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3 MacGregor (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
2 Nelsen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1 Quie (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
MISSISSIPPI												
1 Abernethy (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Colmer (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Whitten (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Williams (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Winstead (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSOURI												
5 Bolling (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
9 Vacancy												
6 Hull (D)	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	/	–
8 Ichord (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	/	–
10 Jones (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+
1 Karsten (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Randall (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Sullivan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Curtis (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
7 Hall (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	/	–
MONTANA												
1 Olsen (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Battin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEBRASKA												
1 Beermann (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Cunningham (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3 Martin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
NEVADA												
AL Baring (D)	–	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	O
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
2 Cleveland (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
1 Wyman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEW JERSEY												
14 Daniels (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Gallagher (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Joelson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Minish (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Patten (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Rodino (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Thompson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Auchincloss (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1 Cahill (R)	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
6 Dwyer (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
2 Glenn (R)	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
9 Osmers (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
12 Wallhauser (R)	+	–	–	O	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	O
7 Widnall (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
NEW MEXICO												
AL Montoya (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	O
AL Morris (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	O
NEW YORK												
41 Dulski (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
29 O'Brien (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Pike (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
35 Stratton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25 Barry (R)	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
5 Becker (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3 Derounian (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–
38 Goodell (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2 Grover (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
36 Horton (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
31 Kilburn (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
30 King (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
40 Miller (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–
37 Osterlag (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	O
39 Pillion (R)	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	–
32 Pirnie (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
26 Reid (R)	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
34 Riehlman (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
33 Robison (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
27 St. George (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
28 Wharton (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4 Wydler (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
New York City												
7 Addabbo (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Buckley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O
15 Carey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Celler (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Delaney (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Farbstein (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Gilbert (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Healey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
12 Kelly (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
11 Keogh (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Multer (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Murphy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Powell (D)	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Rooney (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Rosenthal (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Ryan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Fino (R)	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
6 Halpern (R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Lindsay (R)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NORTH CAROLINA												
1 Bonner (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
4 Cooley (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	O	−	+	−	+
2 Fountain (D)	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
3 Henderson (D)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
6 Kornegay (D)	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
7 Lennon (D)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
5 Scott (D)	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
11 Taylor (D)	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
10 Whitener (D)	−	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
9 Broyhill (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
8 Jonas (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
NORTH DAKOTA												
1 Andrews (R)						−	+	−	−	−	−	+
2 Short (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
OHIO												
9 Ashley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Feighan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
18 Hays (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Kirwan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Secrest (D)	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
21 Vanik (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Abele (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
17 Ashbrook (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
14 Ayres (R)	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
8 Betts (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
22 Bolton, F. P. (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	−
11 Bolton, O. P. (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
16 Bow (R)	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
7 Brown (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2 Clancy (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
12 Devine (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
6 Harsha (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
5 Latta (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
4 McCulloch (R)	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
23 Minshall (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
13 Mosher (R)	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
1 Rich (R)	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3 Schenck (R)	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
AL Taft (R)	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
OKLAHOMA												
3 Albert (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2 Edmondson (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
5 Jarman (D)	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
4 Steed (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
6 Wickersham (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
1 Belcher (R)	−	−	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
OREGON												
4 Duncan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Green (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
2 Ullman (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Vacancy												
PENNSYLVANIA												
25 Clark (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Dent (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Flood (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Holland (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Moorhead (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
26 Morgan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Rhodes (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Rooney (D)				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Corbett (R)	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
8 Curtin (R)	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
9 Dague (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
27 Fulton (R)	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
19 Goodling (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
23 Johnson (R)						−	+	−	−	−	−	−
16 Kunkel (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
10 McDade (R)	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
7 Milliken (R)	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	−	+	O	−
22 Saylor (R)	+	+	−	O	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
17 Schneebeli (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
13 Schweiker (R)	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
24 Weaver (R)	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
12 Whalley (R)	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	O	−	−	O	−
Philadelphia City												
1 Barrett (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Byrne (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Green (D)									+	+	+	+
2 Nix (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Toll (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND												
2 Fogarty (D)	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 St. Germain (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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SOUTH CAROLINA												
4 Ashmore (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3 Dorn (D)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
5 Vacancy												
6 McMillan (D)	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1 Rivers (D)	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
2 Watson (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA												
2 Berry (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1 Reifel (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
TENNESSEE												
6 Bass (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+
9 Davis (D)	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	O	+	+	+	+
8 Everett (D)	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
4 Evins (D)	+	+	+	−	+	O	−	−	+	+	−	O
5 Fulton (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Murray (D)	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
2 Baker (R)									−	−	−	−
3 Brock (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
1 Quillen (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
TEXAS												
3 Beckworth (D)	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
2 Brooks (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
17 Burleson (D)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	O	−	−	−	+
22 Casey (D)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
7 Dowdy (D)	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
21 Fisher (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
20 Gonzalez (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Kilgore (D)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
19 Mahon (D)	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
1 Patman (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
10 Pickle (D)							+	−	+	+	−	+
11 Poage (D)	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	O	+	+	−	+
AL Pool (D)	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
13 Purcell (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	O
4 Roberts (D)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
18 Rogers (D)	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
6 Teague (D)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
8 Thomas (D)	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	O	+	+	+	+
9 Thompson (D)	+	+	+	−	+	O	O	O	+	+	−	+
12 Wright (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	O	+	+	+	+
14 Young (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
5 Alger (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−
16 Foreman (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
UTAH												
1 Burton (R)	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
2 Lloyd (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	O	−	−	−
VERMONT												
AL Stafford (R)	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−
VIRGINIA												
4 Abbitt (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1 Downing (D)	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3 Gary (D)	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
2 Hardy (D)	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
9 Jennings (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
7 Marsh (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
8 Smith (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
5 Tuck (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
10 Broyhill (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
6 Poff (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON												
3 Hansen (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Horan (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
4 May (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
1 Pelly (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
7 Stinson (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
6 Tollefson (R)	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	O	−	−	−
2 Westland (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
WEST VIRGINIA												
4 Hechler (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Kee (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	O
3 Slack (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
2 Staggers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
1 Moore (R)	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
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5 Reuss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Zablocki (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Byrnes (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	−	−	−	−
7 Laird (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
10 O'Konski (R)	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
1 Schadeberg (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
3 Thomson (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
6 Van Pelt (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
WYOMING												
AL Harrison (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

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The New Robert Lowell

by John Wain

Robert Lowell is, at the moment, a largely overrated poet; the word seems to have gone round that he can do no wrong. Thus, confronted with *Life Studies*, one London reviewer whimpers, "Poetry of this order needs neither to be justified nor explained; one should simply be thankful that there is still someone to write it." Come now, a professional critic shouldn't give up so easily; there is plenty in Lowell's work that would benefit by explanation, and even an occasional poem that needs to be "justified." Not that this is Lowell's fault. Like any poet, he makes his work as good as he can. And he starts with certain unique advantages.

For the Union Dead
by Robert Lowell
(Farrar, Straus and Giroux; $3.95)

Lowell's poems are, to begin with, wonderfully flavorful. He gets into them so many different kinds of sharp tang; Eastern seaboard, Atlantic spray, Boston family ramifications, ancestral shivers and – binding the whole bundle together – the strong personal sense of what it is like to be *him*. Not just a man from the Northeast, not just a Bostonian, not (even) just a Lowell, but *Robert Lowell*. The personal flavor somehow caps and confirms all the other flavors. So much in his sensibility is inherited and shared, and so much is idiosyncratic; the result is a mind that can deal with the world, cover a wide range, and yet stand always on its own ground.

Any poetry that is strongly rooted in place, in ancestry, in situation, is bound to stand out among the machine-turned factory products that make up so much modern verse. (John Betjeman's success in England is, I think, largely due to his delight in specific places and flavor and texture of the life to be found in them.) Though it is coming back now, any sort of local flavor has been long absent from the mainstream of modern poetry; perhaps because modern poetry grew up in big cities, and big cities resemble each other closely and also nourish a blind contempt for regional life. The result, for almost a hundred years, has been a poetry almost as generalized as that of the Augustans. A movement like surrealism, for instance, directed the poets' attention toward the content of their unconscious minds, which turned out to be interestingly universal but also highly impersonal and anonymous. Even today, this anonymity is still being put forward as the spearhead of poetic achievement. In the August number of *Poetry*, which is devoted to contemporary French poetry, Mr. Wallace Fowlie writes enthusiastically that the founding Fathers, Nerval, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Corbière and Laforgue, "used poetry as a means of illuminating psychic regions in themselves that would otherwise have been kept concealed." The poetry of this tradition, a tradition already with a century of achievement to its credit, "is concerned . . . with the phenomena of man's psychic life that reach far back into the past and far ahead into the future." Precisely. The here and now, the localized, are trivial. The attempt to render the day-to-day quality of life in one place, among one people, can safely be left to the magazine article. And the young French poet, Provençal or Norman, who moves to Paris is expected to become a Parisian. The generalities of "man's psychic life," like the generalities of neo-classical civilization with its insistence on the intelligible and the universal, swamp the flavor of Provence or Normandy, in the interests of a big-city modernity that may well seem, in retrospect, one of the most hampering of literary conventions.

In America, the situation is no better. (I do not, for the moment, speak of England, where our problem seems to be mainly one of incompetence; the typical minor poet in England is bad because he just doesn't *try*.) American poets tend to be taught their craft at universities, and academic life is remarkably homogeneous; hence the production-line poetry of the last fifteen years with its careful ironies, its standard literary references, and its general air of having been written with that part of the mind that writes a PhD thesis. The reaction, when it came, was into a formless ranting that seems even further from genuine imaginative creation. Throughout it all, of course, the handful of genuine poets was at work, and the minor work will mostly blow away by itself. I bring up the matter only to point out that the bulk of this minor verse, which fills the Little Magazines and seeps into the anthologies, has a flavor as standard as sawdust or lunch-counter food. Even where the poet had grown up in a place full of individuality and savour, his allegiance to the doctrines of "modernity," as taught by innumerable English departments, prevented him from bringing this savour into his work. From Santa Barbara to New Hampshire, the same poetic lunch counter was open. And the San Francisco Renaissance, dominated as it was by New York lads, captured nothing of California except its mid-century silliness.

Set against this a poet like Lowell, strongly rooted, consistently interested in the locality, the family and (this is the chief interest of his uneven volume of *Imitations*) the culture that has for four centuries linked the Eastern seaboard to Europe. Here are a set of preoccupations which remain unshaken and unbroken. The "phenomena of man's psychic life" are there too, but the poet knows they can be trusted to come through without any special coaxing, if the concrete situation is ren-

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dered faithfully and deeply enough.

That, in fact, is the essential nature of Robert Lowell's work. It starts from the concrete, intensely observed and deeply meditated: and reverberates outward into a universal relevance. That this can be done is an old literary discovery, though one that is often forgotten. For some reason – I have never seen an explanation of it – writers most often achieve universality by sticking faithfully to the local and particular. Chekhov, for instance, is utterly and unquestionably a part of the Russia of his time; his people think, speak, suffer, react, in a way that is entirely Russian and entirely *fin de siècle;* but no writer is more universal, more loved by people who have no knowledge of, and no special interest in, that time and place. Similarly with Lowell. Personally I happen to like and be interested in the Northeastern coast of the United States, but his poetry would be just as real and satisfying to me if I cared nothing for its locality. The important thing is that there should be reality, should be concreteness, a devouring hunger for the particular, so that the poem never loses the hardness and bulk of an object grasped in one's hands. Take (and I quote the whole), the poem "Water."

It was a Maine lobster town –
each morning boatloads of hands
pushed off for granite
quarries on the islands,

and left dozens of bleak
white frame houses stuck
like oyster shells
on a hill of rock,

and below us, the sea lapped
the raw little match-stick
mazes of a weir,
where the fish for bait were trapped.

Remember? We sat on a slab of rock.
From a distance in time,
it seems the color
of iris, rotting and turning purpler,

but it was only
the usual gray rock
turning the usual green
when drenched by the sea.

The sea drenched the rock
at our feet all day,
and kept tearing away
flake after flake.

One night you dreamed
you were a mermaid clinging to a
wharf-pile,
and trying to pull
off the barnacles with your hands.

We wished our two souls
might return like gulls
to the rock. In the end,
the water was too cold for us.

This poem is "about" a relationship, perhaps a marriage, which is haunted by tension and insecurity and ultimately breaks up. The pounding of the sea on the rock, and pathetic dream of the mermaid clinging to the pier and trying to get rid of the hard, skin-tearing barnacles, even perhaps the emptiness of the oyster shells which the bleak human habitations bring to mind, all add up to a complete metaphor of this relationship and its failure, till the stabbing pathos of the last stanza brings the poem ending as cold and salt as Atlantic water. This isn't scene painting; it is a poem about a human situation, and human situations happen in definite, sharply visualized settings.

By contrast, it is in those poems that deal with places and atmospheres quite different from those of the Northeast that come closer to being simple watercolors. "July in Washington," for instance, makes the familiar progression from detailed observation to generalized truth; but it seems to me not quite to get there. What stays in one's mind is the landscape; the balance is not fully achieved. Similarly, the very attractive poem "Buenos Aires," which begins

In my room at the Hotel Continental
a thousand miles from nowhere,
I heard
the bulky, beefy breathing of the herds

remains, despite its brilliance, a framed picture. It does not get down from the wall and move into our lives.

These considerations, I think, explain why the title poem, "For the Union Dead," is one of the most successful in the book. If we approach it with any expectation of solemn rhetoric, the opening of the poem will strike what seems an ironic note.

The old South Boston Aquarium stands
in a Sahara of snow now. Its broken windows are boarded.
The bronze weathervane cod has lost half its scales.
The airy tanks are dry.

So what? Is this one more piece of that studied irony so predictable in modern poetry? When we wish to think solemnly, tenderly, of the dead Union soldiers, must we be detained by the dropped scales of the weathervane cod on the closed-up aquarium? The poem's answer to this kind of question is un-

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troubled, unforced and completely convincing. As a boy, the poet pressed his nose against the glass of the aquarium; he delighted in contemplating the "dark downward and vegetating kingdom of the fish and reptile." Now he presses his middle-aged nose to a pane of glass on a construction site.

> Behind their cage,
> yellow dinosaur steamshovels were grunting
> as they cropped up tons of mush and grass
> to gouge their underworld garage.

The fish and reptiles, however alien, were living; the sinister dinosaurs of yellow-painted metal, which have taken their place, are part of the dehumanization that has overtaken the world and diluted, along with much else, the Yankee values for which Colonel Shaw's soldiers gave their lives. The Negro soldiers have become bronze; Boston has become a gigantic car-park.

> There are no statues for the last war here;
> on Boylston Street, a commercial photograph
> shows Hiroshima boiling
> over a Mosler Safe, the "Rock of Ages"
> that survived the blast. Space is nearer.
> When I crouch to my television set,
> the drained faces of Negro schoolchildren rise like balloons.

There is irony here, certainly, and it is the true irony of poetry, mordant and avenging. The values represented by that faded religious phraseology ("Rock of Ages") are drowned in a swamp of money; the unchanging faces of Negro infantry, sculptured in bronze, are contrasted with the "balloons," liable to be grotesquely inflated or popped to flatness, of the Negro school-children's faces on television. (We don't need to be told what they are doing on television. Only one thing makes a Negro school child into news, and it is not a pretty thing to contemplate.)

All this is brilliant. The lament for the Union Dead is perfectly realized in terms of what has been lost. And Lowell's eye for the universalizing detail is perfectly shown.

Since one of the most famous of modern American poems is Allen Tate's "Ode to the Confederate Dead," Lowell's poem will naturally provoke comparisons. The distance between the two poems is in fact very wide. Tate's poem is orotund, non-ironical, bardic. Its rhythms are slow and rich, its colors gorgeous. Read them one after the other and you might almost be moving from the richness of tobacco-growing country to the hard coast of Maine. The change is positively physical. It would be a mistake, however, to draw any facile conclusions from this. There is not a new Civil War among the poets. In 1946 Lowell published his commemorative poem, "The Quaker Graveyard at Nantucket," which has remained his best-known poem up to the present time; and if we compare this with Tate's poem the differences become smaller. The language of "The Quaker Graveyard" is as rhetorical as Tate's; its rhythms are full of turmoil; emotionally, it is stuffed full to overflowing.

> In the great ash-pit of Jehoshaphat
> The bones cry for the blood of the white whale,
> The fat flukes arch and whack about its ears,
> The death-lance churns into the sanctuary, tears
> The gun-blue swingle, heaving like a flail
> And hacks the coiling like out: it works and drags
> And rips the sperm-whale's midriff into rags,
> Gobbets of blubber spill to wind and weather.
> Sailor, and gulls go round the stoven timbers
> Where the morning stars sing out together
> And thunder shakes the white surf and dismembers
> That red flag hammered in the mast-head. Hide
> Our steel, Jonas Messias, in Thy side.

Admittedly this violent verse describes a violent situation – the butchering of a whale amid Atlantic seas. But the present-day Lowell has dried out his language and rhythms to a harsh spareness that can serve for subject-matter just as violent as whaling. "Fall 1961," for instance, deals with those weeks of frozen horror when we waited for the rockets to come over; if there is a greater violence than whale-hunting, this is it; and this is how the poem conveys it:

> Our end drifts nearer,
> the moon lifts,
> radiant with terror.
> The state
> is a diver under a glass bell.
> A father's no shield
> for his child.
> We are like a lot of wild
> spiders crying together,
> but without tears.

Already in mid-career, Lowell has come a long distance: from that crowded, bustling verse to this sharp and yet reposeful lyricism. It will be interesting to see what further development lies ahead for this restless, powerful poet, so dedicated to his art and so versed in its secrets.

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Creating the Hydrogen Bomb

by John W. Finney

Few decisions in recent history have been so portentous, so controversial as the one made by the Truman Administration in 1950 to proceed with the development of the hydrogen bomb. It left the scientific community emotionally divided and politically prejudiced, tarnished the reputations of individuals, drastically increased the horrifying dimensions of warfare, and perhaps, as we are seeing dimly now, changed the path of the arms race toward a quest for disarmament and peace. With the benefit of hindsight, the decision would seem to have been the only one open. Indeed, one can argue that its correctness was conclusively confirmed only three and a half years later when the Soviet Union, much sooner than expected and in some ways technologically ahead of the United States, exploded its first thermonuclear device. One can only speculate on what would have happened to the prestige and deterrent power of the US if it had refrained from developing the weapon, leaving the Soviet Union free to indulge in atomic saber-rattling.

The Journals of David E. Lilienthal
(Harper & Row; two volumes, $10)

For all the present-day certainty, however, that 1950 decision continues to have great fascination as a human drama. How and why the decision was reached also has historical relevance to contemporary problems, for once again technological developments are forcing a judgment on whether new weapons are necessary for security.

As first chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Lilienthal was deeply involved in the decision, and in his journals he has recorded the arguments they presented, back and forth, in such intimate detail that nearly fifteen years later one has the feeling of being an observer to the discussions. The picture that emerges is not completely reassuring, either in terms of personalities or of their understanding of what was involved.

There was Defense Secretary Louis Johnson – the "man of heroic mold" in one of Lilienthal's pointed yet perceptive characterizations – arguing that the issue was really a very limited one and why all the philosophical debate. It was more complex to General Omar Bradley – the "schoolmasterish guy" – who suggested the "super" could have a psychological value as a deterrent leading to peace. There was Dean Acheson, with his analytical mind, trying to cut through the various arguments and draw up recommendations to the President. And finally there was Harry Truman, in his uncomplicated, incisive way, giving the go-ahead, and commenting that the United States had no other course because of the way the Russians were behaving.

From Lilienthal's journals, one would judge that the decision was reached reluctantly and almost entirely on the basis that the US had no alternative if it wanted to stay ahead of the Soviet Union in the arms race. This, of course, was sufficient and justifiable reason by itself. But interestingly, there seems to have been no consideration of what would happen to the international prestige of the US if the Soviet Union should accomplish first the technological feat of unleashing the immense power of the fusion process. Nor, except possibly by General Bradley, was the possibility raised that mutual development of the hydrogen bomb, by its very immense and yet unkown power for destruction, could have a stabilizing effect on the arms race. In retrospect, this has been the most important effect of the decision. If it was not foreseen at the time, it was largely because of a lack of appreciation of how technology was changing the nature of warfare. The development of the hydrogen bomb made feasible the development of the intercontinental ballistic missile. When the hydrogen bomb was coupled with the ballistic missile, both sides acquired the power to destroy the other – a power they never possessed in such absolute terms as long as they were reliant upon vulnerable bombers carrying fission war-

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heads. The security of each side was thereby diminished, but at the same time a stalemate was achieved in which each side was fearful of using its destructive power. Instead of accelerating the arms race, therefore, the decision of January 31, 1950, to build the "super" may have led to a turning point in history, with all-out war between the major powers in effect becoming "outlawed" by mutual fear.

In those anxious discussions, Lilienthal was in the minority, and in that grave national security council meeting at the White House he alone stood up to dissent. His basic objection was that the United States was becoming unduly dependent in its military strategy upon weapons of mass destruction – an objection that interestingly was to find acceptance ten years later in the Kennedy Administration. Before proceeding, he argued, the United States should try to "promote something better than a headlong rush to a war of mass destruction weapons" by reexamining its military policy. The difficulty, of course, as Acheson pointed out, was that he was unable to hold out any clear or workable alternative to development of the hydrogen bomb.

Whether Lilienthal was right or wrong can still be argued. But far more interesting and illuminating at this point is the picture of a moralistic man struggling with his conscience, with his loyalties, to resolve the grave issues presented by atomic energy. That evening, after the National Security Council meeting, in one of the most moving passages in the journals, he notes that "this is a night of heartache. But there is some personal satisfaction, where there is nothing but pain for the decision made today. For I found my manhood sufficient for one of the hardest tests I've ever had: to 'stand up in meeting' and say 'no' to a steamroller, knowing it would be so easy to equivocate, or to acquiesce silently, be a good sport, etc."

And then as a final observation to himself before going to sleep, he wrote: "It isn't so important how long one lives; what is important is that while he lives he lives as a man."

The great value and interest of the journals is that they are basically the story of one man living through a turbulent period – a sensitive, gentle man who can cry as he writes his resignation after nearly two decades of government service, but also a man who can be stubborn in his principles, humanly intolerant, opinionated about his adversaries. Indeed, much of the controversy that enveloped his public service can be traced to his failure to understand and appreciate the human rules of politics. He was insistent, for example, that neither the TVA nor the AEC should become a source of political patronage. And yet when the inevitable requests came from Capitol Hill or the White House, he was not content to find a gracious way out but instead curtly cut off the politician with a statement of principle. Toward some members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, as becomes clear in the journals, he displayed a certain superior air, thereby undoubtedly helping to provoke the unwarranted charges of "incredible mismanagement" of the AEC.

The personality conflicts have now faded, leaving untarnished the record of Lilienthal as the architect of TVA and then of the AEC. So also have many of the problems that plagued the atomic energy program in its early days – the obsession with secrecy, the preoccupation with personnel security, the public and congressional ignorance bordering on fear about the new source of energy. It is interesting, however, how many of the policy issues first perceived by Lilienthal remain unresolved. There is, for example, the recurring problem of civilian vs. military control over the atom bomb. That Senator Goldwater is but reflecting the long-frustrated desires of the military is illustrated by the journal's disclosure that as long ago as 1948 the Defense Department was attempting to take over the production and custody of atomic weapons – only to be blocked at a White House meeting. Or there is the difficulty of running the atomic energy program with a five-man committee – an organizational defect that

Latin America

Myth and Reality

By PETER NEHEMKIS

MR. NEHEMKIS'S hardheaded, undoctrinaire approach to his subject casts a fresh light on many aspects of Latin American life and the relations between Latin America and the United States. He deals, for example, with the long-time American policy of supporting political stability – and insisting upon it even where it has been manifestly unlikely. He demonstrates how North Americans' beliefs and prejudices with regard to their own unique form of government have set them against other forms of government more truly native – and perhaps even more appropriate – to other situations.

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Lilienthal recognized from the outset but which neither the commission nor the White House has yet been willing to face up to. Or there is the problem of how much weight and authority should be given scientists in deciding policy in a technological age. That scientists are not necessarily prescient, even on technological issues, is illustrated by an incident in 1947 when nine eminent scientists on the commission's General Advisory Committee reached the pessimistic conclusion that there was little immediate hope of developing the peaceful side of atomic energy as a new power source. In an observation that has as much pertinence today as then, Lilienthal wrote:

> "It is curious how political reasons motivate scientists and savants, though they would be surprised if you pointed it out to them, and probably deny it. Wishful thinking – which so largely characterizes political thought – is no monopoly of politicos or ordinary men."

What is remarkable about the journals – and what distinguishes them – is that they contain the personal, intimate thoughts and reactions of a perceptive man who was playing a key role in first the economic, and then the technological transformation of a nation. Unlike most memoirs, the journals have not been edited in the perspective of time or with an eye on history. They are the notes and observations exactly as jotted down by Lilienthal, often in shorthand, at the time of the events. As a result, they provide a fascinating insight into the nature and habits of the men, from Presidents on down, who carried the nation through the New and Fair Deal era. Indeed, for future social and political historians, the journals are likely to become a Pepys diary of the Roosevelt-Truman period.

Enemies of Radical Nonsense

by Gerald W. Johnson

Six times, but no more, the old Delta district of Mississippi chose Frank E. Smith as its representative in Congress. For twelve years he devoted his time and energy to the task of building up Mississippi, studiously neglecting the task of holding down the Negro; and for that neglect he was defeated in 1962. He is understandably bitter against the politics of racism that has been the curse of Mississippi for a hundred years, and sees no hope for the state until it is delivered from that body of death.

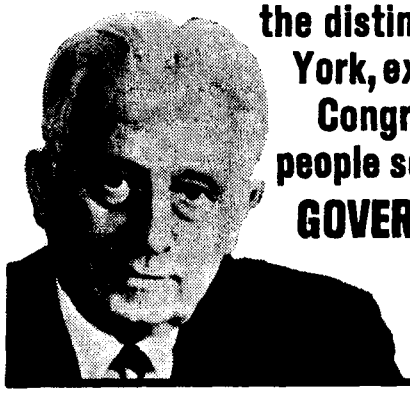
No doubt he is right as regards the state, yet by his own showing in 1962 he carried the counties that comprised the old Delta district, which is to say, he was defeated, not by straight racism, but by the reliable old devices of the gerrymander that originated, not in Mississippi but in Massachusetts, and has no necessary connection with racism. What happened was that in the census of 1960 Mississippi lost one seat in Congress and the legislature, in redistricting the state, dumped into the relatively civilized Delta 121,000 rednecks from the pine barrens. That sunk Smith, but the fact that his old district stuck to him is proof that even in Mississippi there remain pockets of resistance to the domination of the Yahoo; and while such pockets remain there is hope for the state.

But that it is at present a dim and flickering hope is incontestably true. This assertion is based on nothing that Smith says for himself but on the direct quotations from official documents, public addresses and campaign literature he presents. One reads them with a kind of stupefaction, for it is incredible that literate Americans in the latter half of the 20th Century could believe such stuff. The basis of it was summarized in a speech by the Hon. Hamie L. Whitten, the candidate who defeated Smith: "It was not merely the South which lost the Civil War, it was the Nation. It has taken 100 years for us to fully see that might, when taken to be right, can destroy a Nation." In effect, Meade lost at Gettysburg and Grant surrendered at Appomattox; and the liberation of the slaves we now see destroyed the nation.

People who can actually believe that presumably have no difficulty in swallowing from Mississippi newspapers, such confections as, "Surrounding Kennedy are the lowest scum of this nation's socialists, fellow travelers, pinkos, and pro-Communists . . . men who have devoted their lives to fighting this country," or in contributing to the fund one fellow started for the relief of Lee Oswald, Kennedy's assassin.

All of which leads to the inescapable conclusion that a majority of Mississippi whites at this moment are not

Congressman from Mississippi
The autobiography of Frank E. Smith
(Random House; $5.95)
Straight Herblock
by Herbert Block
(Simon & Schuster; $5.95)



SENATOR KENNETH B. KEATING, the distinguished Senator from New York, explains what is wrong with Congress and why the American people seldom get what they want.

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quite rational. They have succumbed to a mass hysteria that has divorced them from reality, much as the German people succumbed to the sorcery of Adolf Hitler. The basis of the aberration was the same in both cases, the myth of the *Herrenvolk*, the Master Race. Southerners and Germans, being unconquerable, simply could not have been conquered in 1865 and 1918, and if history says they were, that simply makes history a liar. The mind that once has accepted this stupendous fiction is, of course, laid wide open to many varieties of minor fictions, even such lunatic notions as that Eisenhower was a Communist dupe and Kennedy a traitor, while Barnett and Wallace represent the only true Americanism – well, maybe Goldwater, too, although some of the literature hints that even he has a slightly pinkish hue.

For emphasis be it repeated, this is the impression made not by what Smith says, but by what he quotes. Out of their own mouths is their irrationality established. This raises the question, what is to be done about it? Here Smith begins to fumble, which should occasion no surprise as there never has been a single formula for dealing with hysteria. It is evident, though, that the first step is for the rest of the country to recognize the condition. Specifically, that duty lies upon the national leadership of the Democratic Party. Some of the very men who rejoiced at the assassination of Kennedy and who are now moving heaven and earth to defeat Johnson hold important positions in Washington by grace of the national leadership of the Democratic Party. As long as that is true, is it Mississippi only that seems slightly off the beam mentally? At times these men's votes are needed, but are they ever needed that badly? To antagonize votes you may need is bad politics, but self-stultification is bad politics, too, and carried far enough it may become worse politics even than the loss of an important measure in Congress.

The people who should read this book are, in order, first, all members of the Democratic caucus, House and Senate; second, all non-Southern members of the Democratic National Committee; third, the Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson. After that, the rest of us might not need to read it.

Herblock, too, is probably not the man for Mississippi, yet. He is too heady a draught for the emotionally unsteady. But for those who can handle common sense at 100 proof, his book is excellent, mellowed by humor. Readers of *The New Republic* do not need to be told that Herblock has opinions – and how! But there may be some who know him only by his cartoons and who may be unaware that he can employ the word as well as the line to express his opinions powerfully, astringently, and amusingly.

Of course the man isn't always right, but he is always something distinct. At a time when the American Way of Life seems to be epitomized by the political platform-writers, those masters of the art of saying nothing in 30,000 words, a man who is genuinely opinionated and not merely iron-skulled is refreshing. Herblock is a liberal. He doesn't admit it, he asserts it vociferously, his critics say stridently; but it would be hard to find in this country a man less tolerant of radical nonsense, left or right. Herblock, in short, has the capacity to perceive the obvious which, far from being commonplace, is a quality seldom found among pundits of any stripe, and nonexistent among authoritarians. Yet it is immensely effective in making life endurable; which is the fundamental merit of this book.

"C. P. SNOW'S MESSAGE – *that all sensible people believe Britain should renounce its independent deterrent—is disputable. Quite apart from the need to own a bomb with which to threaten and, in the last resort, to blow up the French, I should like to think that possession of the Bomb is in itself an edifying exercise, just as mediaeval scholars used to keep skulls on their desks to remind them of Mortality.*"

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The Story of One American Boy

by Charles Burton Marshall

The Life of John Birch:
In the Story of One American Boy
The Ordeal of His Age
by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr.
(Western Islands; $3)

Chance has an odd way with names. The Devil passes under a Florentine bureaucrat's sobriquet – Old Nick. An unremarked supply inspector's cognomen – Uncle Sam – is attached to a nation. Nineteen years after his death a young missionary-soldier's name has become a household term for obscurantism and reaction – or, depending on one's premises – civic rectitude.

John Birch was born in Landaur, India, in 1918. His parents took him in infancy to their homeland. Growing up on farms in New Jersey and Georgia, the boy experienced privations typical of the depression years. He led his classes in grammar school and high school, finished Merar College *magna cum laude*, and led his class again at a Baptist seminary, where he trained to carry the Word to a far field. In China he caught on quickly with the dialects and the people. Then war interposed.

Birch tried for military service immediately after Pearl Harbor, but his tender to the US military mission at Chungking was ignored. A few months later he happened to be at the right spot at the right moment to guide Colonel James Doolittle and some of the other Tokyo raiders to sanctuary after their crackups. The venture put Birch in contact with the US military. A chaplain was not needed, but there was a slot in liaison and intelligence for a young man so knowledgeable of the land and people. Birch signed on as a first lieutenant.

His letters home in the remaining three-and-a-fraction years were those of an affectionate son and brother. They hinted of fleeting romance with an English nurse. They dwelt upon spare-

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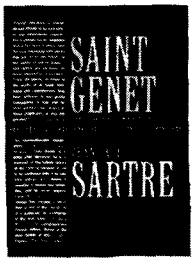

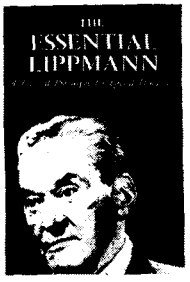

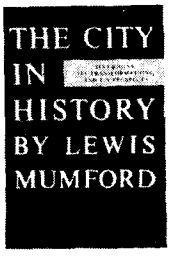

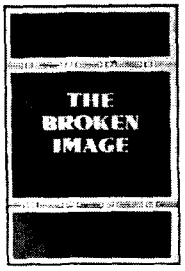

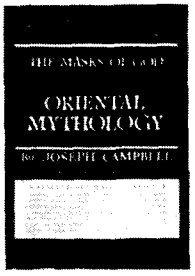

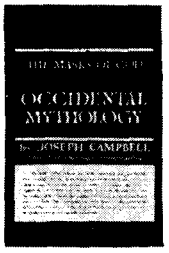

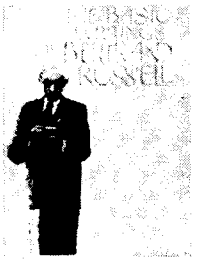

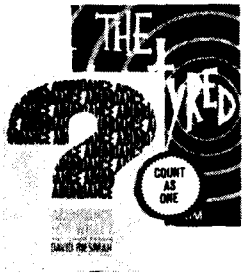

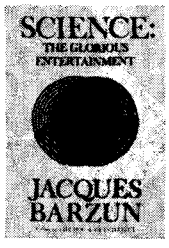

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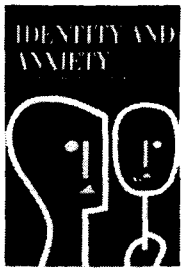

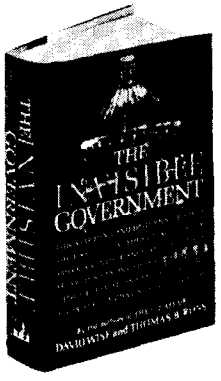

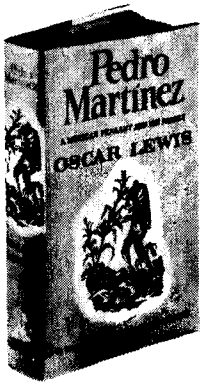

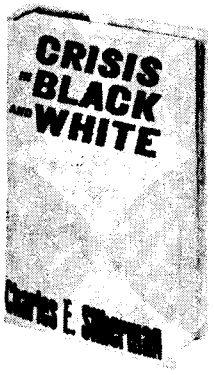

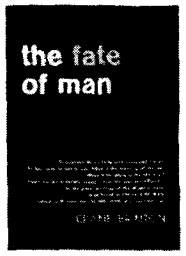

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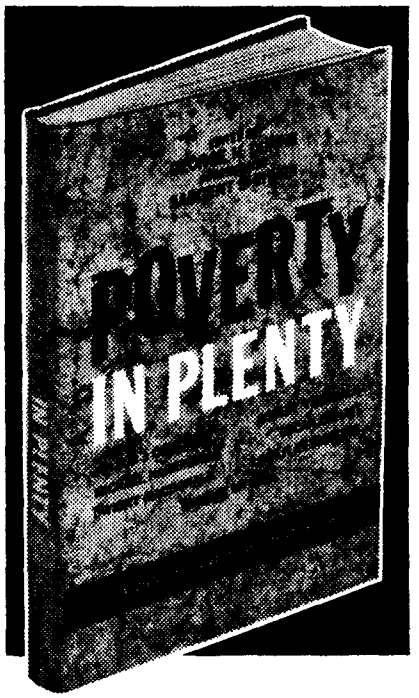

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time efforts to continue his ministry. Of spare time there was little, however, for acting beyond the call of military duty became Birch's way of life.

Long before reading the account by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., who took the dead man's name for his political cult, I heard of Birch in detail from a neighbor. He had been Birch's immediate commanding officer and recalled him with a respect amounting to awe.

In his description, Birch was of medium size, gaunt, dark, handsome, and forceful. In missionary interludes he was full of bounce and rhythm – a sort of evangelizing Elvis Presley, who had a great way with Chinese believers and nonbelievers. As a soldier he was "like a man ablaze" and "too intense in his intensity." He was deeply moved by the invaders' devastation and brutality, and made the war a personal crusade.

His job was to recruit and to instruct Chinese agents and then to use them in collecting data to pinpoint targets for US bomb strikes north of the Yellow River. It took him far into Japanese-dominated ground. He traveled by foot, by pony, or by rustic conveyance. From weeks of danger in the boondocks he would return to Headquarters depleted and ailing, restore himself, and venture out again.

Entailing hardship, ingenuity, and personal initiative, the job precisely suited an ascetic officer who, besides being intrepid beyond his share, was a thoroughgoing individualist. He never figured out and adjusted to military procedure and hierarchy. When an order arrived changing his designation from the Air Force to OSS, Birch was defiant. He saw it as a breach of terms, and a contract was a contract with a sanctity beyond governmental whims. Somehow a way was found to bend regulations to his convictions. He assumed equality all the way up the line. When disagreeing with generals, he would say so aloud and to their faces, not in insolence but without presumption, and high commanders yielded that prerogative to the vivid young man.

Apparently one of these high superiors passed his admiring recollections on to Welch. Someone at the Capitol then borrowed the official files on Birch for Welch's perusal. Welch drew upon them somewhat artlessly for about half of his brief *Life of John Birch*. The rest consists of Welch's inferences of baleful political lessons for our time. Two items link the two halves. One is some Birch prose on bucolic delights and simple government and a speculation on possibilities of realizing them in – of all places! – Turkestan. The other is Welch's own narrative of Birch's death at the hands of Chinese Communists soon after the Japanese surrender in 1945.

Birch volunteered for his last mission, though worn out. It was to get strength data on Japanese forces at a transport center. Three Americans and a few Chinese and Koreans accompanied him. They met Chinese Communists in force. The Communists tried to intern Birch and his party for return via Yenan – their standard procedure for handling small parties of Americans. Birch refused. Accompanied by a Chinese Nationalist officer, he went to argue with the Communist commander. A scrap occurred. Birch and his companion were wounded by gunshot. Birch was hacked by a sword. The other was bayoneted in the leg. Their bodies were thrown aside. His companion revived and went looking for help – but too late to do Birch any good.

Welch portrays Birch as the first US casualty in hostilities with Communist China. In any event, he was not the last by tens of thousands. The interpretation elides an essential aspect. Birch reportedly started the scrape by putting violent hands on a sentry – an act all too likely to have lethal consequences in that environment. My neighbor believes this version. Did Birch know China well enough to understand the peril implicit in his act? My neighbor thinks so but reasons that Birch was ailing and at the end of his tether. He leaves it to others to draw psychological inferences from Birch's predilections for far places, the relentless courting of danger, and the final fateful challenge. To him, Birch was a complicated man with simple ideas, hugely committed to his mission, whether preaching or fighting. He was not given to political ideas and had no more to do with the cult purporting to commemorate him than Saint James had with the Jacobins or Quintus Fabius with the Fabians.

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THEATER

Fiddling While Talent Burns

There is an underground song, of which nothing unhappily exists except the title, called "When You're in Love, the Whole World's Jewish" – this could be the *leitmotif* of *Fiddler on the Roof*. An adaptation of Sholom Aleichem's *Tevye* stories doctored for the musical stage, it bears about the same relation to its source as unleavened cocktail wafers do to Passover *matzoth*, but it

Fiddler on the Roof
Book by Joseph Stein
Music by Jerry Bock
Lyrics by Sheldon Harnick
Imperial Theater

is undoubtedly sufficient to serve the passionate ethnic narcissism of Jewish benefit audiences. Obviously, this demand is amply filled every season – by Chayefsky plays, garment center epics, and Molly Goldberg vehicles – all of which represent the petering out of the great Yiddish theater tradition. Let us not, however, confuse the appeal of these works with a serious revival of interest in Yiddish culture, for they are popular by virtue of being inauthentic. Trading on the exotic, romanticizing Jewish history for the sake of an easy nostalgia, such Broadway plays are always invested with a trace of condescension. The laughter that invariably greets a pair of hunched shoulders and an upward inflection springs less from racial or religious pride than from a very comfortable assimilation – from a world, that is, in which Manischewitz wine is no longer just for "special occasions" and even Chinamen eat Levy's rye.

Even Chinamen will probably be able to enjoy *Fiddler on the Roof*, since it is slick, colorful, and energetic. The only person it is likely to offend, in fact, is the serious Yiddishist, for it exerts its wide appeal by falsifying the world of Sholom Aleichem, not to mention the character of the East European Jew. Take the plot line, for example. Like the stories, the musical revolves around the marriage of a number of Tevye's daughters to husbands he disapproves of; but now these couplings are all conventional romances, and the most shameful of them – the union of one of the girls with a rich Jewish vulgarian lacking culture or scholarship – has, for rather obvious reasons, been omitted entirely. As for the revolutionary who marries Hodel, and is exiled to Siberia for his political views, his radicalism now has no more content than a belief in mixed dancing, while the Gentile who marries Chava has become a soft-voiced liberal intellectual who gives her lessons in religious tolerance ("Do you feel about us the way they feel about you?") Sholom Aleichem had a deep suspicion of Russians in general, whom he usually depicted as savage animals in fur caps; but this has now been replaced by the warm glow of human fellowship. The Russians of the musical are mostly kind, courteous, and friendly, and the local constable even warns the Jews of an impending pogrom, apologizing for it as he carries it out.

This pogrom, by the way, is all part of the choreography; it occurs during a wedding, and results mainly in some broken furniture. Hardly enough to cry *gevalt* about, but then nobody in this cartoon Russia is inclined to spit upon a Jewish gabardine. Boris Aronson underlines the Cloud-Cuckoo-Land quality of the proceedings by designing a set which would be just as appropriate as background for the Three Little Pigs; and you can be certain, whenever some Jews collect together for an ancient ritual, that candles will light up all over the stage, and a chorus will warble one of Jerry Bock's and Sheldon Harnick's Tin Pan alley tunes. On the other hand, if you are willing to forgive the various distortions of *shtetl* life, you may derive some pleasure from the evening, for it has been organized around an ideal of sensuous enjoyment. Patricia Zipprodt's costumes have just the right touch of style and accuracy, and they make the assorted tailors, matchmakers, butchers, and whey-faced Talmudic scholars look, if not act, authentic. Then, Jerome Robbins has adapted his usual razzamatazz to a certain spirited folksiness, especially during some fine Russian *kazatzkes* and Jewish *horas* which leave the stage trembling with energy. He could not resist a touch of pretense at the end when Tevye, having been evicted from the village along with the other Jews, is made to pull his wagon sadly around the stage like Mother Courage; but this merely underlines one's conviction that Broadway musicals, and not serious plays, are really his glass of tea.

Zero Mostel, on the other hand – being the most versatile actor in the land – has the capacity to sip from a variety of beverages, and so I cannot help but regret that he is draining his talents into a benefit audience musical. Still, my regret is tempered by a sense of delight at seeing him under any circumstances, and his performance, at least in the first act, achieves that

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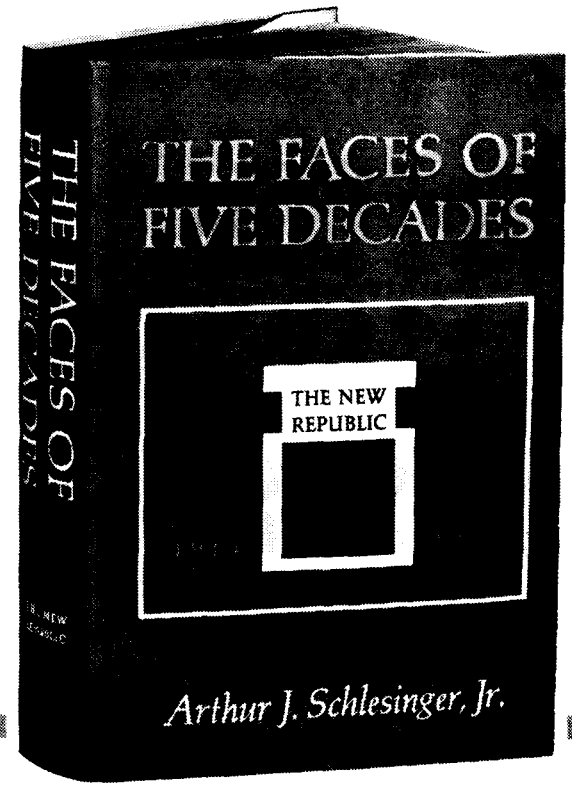

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sublime breath of reality that the rest of the show lacks. For one thing, Zero is extremely deft at isolating himself from all the brashness and noise – note how cleverly he takes refuge in simple gestures and subtle movements whenever the other actors grow frenetic. And his Tevye the dairyman is a magnificently thick creation. Salty, skeptical, cunning – endlessly misquoting Scripture, and endlessly grumbling (through a massive growth of beard) about his crippled horse, his shrewish wife, and his undependable God – he is the very embodiment of human complaint and human adaptability. When Zero greets a Russian policeman by cocking his finger ambiguously towards his cap and saying, with false heartiness, "Welcome your honor, what's the good news of the world?" we know whatever is to be known about the degradation of the Jews in a hostile environment. What is more, we know the character that Sholom Aleichem originally created, the Jewish survivor *par excellence*, learning to live with his fate. Nor does Zero slight the demands of the musical itself. He discharges his duties brilliantly as a song-and-dance man, charming us with his almost incredible physical grace, and his thrilling voice. Even Zero, however, cannot wholly disguise the thinness of the material (watch him grapple with a line like "He's as poor as a synagogue-mouse" and you will see a soul in agony), and, in the second act, he cannot even rise above it, for he falls back on sly winks and Jewish shrugs for the easy laugh.

Finally, I left the theater more dejected than exhilarated by this powerful talent, because it is in some danger of being wasted. In a just world and a healthy culture, Zero Mostel would undoubtedly be playing all the great theatrical roles: Falstaff, Dogberry and Toby Belch, Tartuffe and M. Jourdain, Azdak and Herr Puntila, even Tevye the dairyman in a more faithful adaptation of the stories. Are we now to watch him in an endless succession of long run musical comedies? It is uncharitable to begrudge this actor his success, since it was obtained after a long period of neglect having nothing to do with his gifts; but I wish he were using his success in a more fruitful way. This is no doubt a very difficult task, since talented Americans are inevitably confronted with a conflict between success and creativity. It is not yet certain whether Zero has resolved this conflict for himself, and his future still remains open. What is certain is that if he does not soon take more active control of his talent, it will languish and die. ROBERT BRUSTEIN

COMING

Film Thoughts from Abroad

by Stanley Kauffmann

ART

Pop Goes the Easel

The new season in art has already tipped its hand enough to reveal that this is the year of Pop *über Alles* among those folk who like to be with it. And Pop has been around long enough now to reveal its essential characteristics, which are a lot more interesting to think about than they are to look at. You take a two-foot hamburger made out plaster-of-Paris and gaudily colored in high gloss and you have something that will provoke a whole string of reflections on hamburgers, art, artists and patrons, even the age we live in, but the object won't really compel a second look. Similarly with a meticulously copied gigantic scale replica of a panel from Sadist Comics, you can muse about the place of violence in our civilization or the place of Benday dots in our civilization, but you cannot look at the damn thing with any sustained interest more than once or twice. And these examples, mind you, are still in the realm of artifacts, things fairly close in appearance to other things in the world outside museums and galleries. When Pop takes the form of selection rather than fabrication, the interest declines quite a few notches more. A Popper named Geoffrey, for example, exhibits an actual old whisky bottle now filled with some colorless liquid, recapped and offered for sale – probably, by the way, in violation of that well-known "Federal Law," written in the glass, which "Forbids The Sale or Re-Use" of such bottles. Other Poppers present "accumulations" of many objects: stamps, coin-machine slugs, match covers, whatever. Although one is sometimes claimed, there is no remote connection between such heapings up of material and either the early collages of Kurt Schwitters or the cabinet-maker monuments of Louise Nevelson. The disconnection is most clear precisely in the lack of sustained visual interest. When you've seen 300 hat-checks once, you've seen them.

This severely intellectual nature of Pop is no less true in the rare appearances of genuine wit in a form which cries for wit. Jasper Johns has been hailed as a "germinal" artist of our decade, but as far as wit is concerned, germinal is terminal. None of the hordes of Poppers now in business follows his lead in wit; also, his own wit is low-level. An example: among the numerous objects he exhibited last year was one mildly funny one, an adolescent boy's shoe moulded in sculpt-metal, a soft substance which turns hard after exposure to air; in the toe of the shoe was set a tiny mirror, a device once popular in racier teenage circles for looking up the skirts of girls in corridor and classroom. There is here the artist's presumed nostalgic memory of his adolescence played against the conventional nostalgia for babyhood made permanent in "bronzed" baby-shoes set on the mantlepiece. But that's all there is, the idea; recollection of the object recalls its play of wit quite as effectively as actually seeing it again. And the play of the wit is a lot more witty in the

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context of current witlessness in Pop than it is in itself.

The Pop-savants and Pop-dealers normally use one of two ploys in presenting their merchandise. The Popper is alleged to be satirizing the great vulgar world of commercial art and advertising life; or, he is alleged to be holding up for aesthetic contemplation some bit of flotsam from our ordinary, daily lives that we are too hurried and harried to notice but which has its own modicum of aesthetic value, such as a Brillo box or a Maxwell House coffee can. Considered as satire, most of this stuff falls into the classic trap of the satirist working on dullness: it is at least as dull as the object of its allegedly satiric attention and often a good deal duller.

The beauty-from-our-humdrum-lives line merges into another old theme, the triumph of bourgeois values in art. Conventional art history often describes Dutch still-life painting of the 17th Century as such a triumph: the honest burgher liked nothing better than to eat, hence a school of painting arises which transmutes into art the customer's pleasures of the table. But in such still-life painting other things are going on besides fond recollections of lemons and lobsters. There is, often, extravagant and elaborate composition within what first strikes the eye as mere profusion. And there is usually an immense amount of sheer virtuoso painting, both in the astonishing faithful evocation of cool oyster and bright silver and in the brilliant manipulation of brushed paint, which becomes a joy to follow all by itself, separate from subject and composition. In Pop there is not the slightest equivalent of such values.

The banal is no discovery of Pop. The Art Institute of Chicago has a haunting, dry, understated Edward Hopper, "Night Hawks," a view from the dark street of a corner lunch counter with the counterman and a couple of customers isolated from each other and from the world. The picture says everything about such a scene, including all the references to vulgar mass-food that Poppers make with wax replicas of the pie case. For that matter, in painting after painting by Hopper, the physical and spiritual qualities of urban brick in urban light are impressed upon the eye and the soul of the viewer with an effectiveness utterly out of the question for some Pop-mason who actually erects a brick wall in his dealer's window. The reason that Hopper is better than the Popper in this line of work is not only that the old gentleman is an artist and the young dog doesn't know beans about art. There is also the question of imitation, a constant in art, even in that art which affects only to imitate itself. The imitation of anything has to be like the original and unlike at the same time and often it is in the tension between these two opposites that we find aesthetic interest. By the nature of its program, Pop Art eliminates entirely too much of the difference between itself and the objects of its attention.

It's all sociology, then, and an inflated footnote to art history. Pop, embraced by its waiting and loaded audience even before it made its first appearance on the public scene, is surely the end of the alienated artist and the end of the avant-garde protest. This is good in itself because both those things have been a pain in the neck in American art since the end of the Second World War. But the fusion of the shock-troops of avantism with the bourgeois they are supposed to shock is too much of a good thing. In the abstract expressionist years, the avantist held precariously to the posture of inarticulate revolt even in the act of applying for the big grant from Ford or the small one from Guggenheim, even while lolling in the residential largesse of universities and even while counting the cash receipts from the society that was incapable of understanding him.

With Pop, all pretense is over. Artist and audience are completely one. The Popper supplies instant avantism for the chi-chi customer who has to be avant but who doesn't particularly want to look at paintings and sculpture.

Frank Getlein

Notes on Contributors

John Wain, *author of* Strike The Father Dead, *is at work on a new play.* John W. Finney *writes on science for* The New York Times.

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

O'Casey

Sirs:

Your kind but brief notice of Sean O'Casey's death (October 1) was disappointing in its repetition of conventional and wrong ideas about his life and work. He did not go into a long decline after writing two early masterpieces. Yet not only Broadway but our highly-powered critics (with some noble exceptions) tend to undervalue his later career.

Along with his reminiscences, one should read his early writings. (Available in *Feathers from the Green Crow,* ed. by Robert Hogan, Univ. of Missouri Press.) He wrote a great deal of "applied literature" in the form of political tracts, ballads, marching songs, and the like, before he turned to (or fought his way into) the theater. Some of this writing is very bad, in a derivative, sentimental, popular, and most interesting way – more interesting, for instance, than Mr. Eliot's college compositions or his cats. Like Chekhov, Gorky, Lawrence, and Behan, and unlike much of our academic literary establishment, O'Casey had to fight his way to literary taste and style. No school helped him, and he picked up – and transformed – every element of street culture and Pop Culture and Genteel Culture that Dublin provided him. The process left some scars and wounds, to be sure, but he is a tribute to what we would now call the Culture of the Poor, and he used it to the end. It comforts those whose culture was given to them more easily and who use it less livingly to call this Primitivism, partly because, like O'Casey's invective, his tartness, his sui-generic Communism (faithful to the end), and his occasional wrongheadedness, he was, as a living intellectual, embarrassing to the timid: he lived his knowledge.

Brendan Behan, on one of his flamboyant visits to New York, was referred to on a morning TV interview as

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"the greatest Irish playwright since O'Casey." He exploded. "What do you mean, *since* O'Casey?" I am not to be mentioned in the same breath with that man. We are all of us still to learn from him." It was a fine response.

Sven Eric Molin
English Department
Randolph-Macon College

I was pleased to see your kind editorial notice of the death of that great artist and great liberal, Sean O'Casey, but his later plays are not so universally despised as your notice suggested; more important, his greatest work, the autobiography, is not merely the story of his youth but follows him into his old age. I hope, by way of amends, you will let me quote the close of the sixth and last volume of this splendid work, "Sunset and Evening Star." It ought to be his epitaph:

"Even here, even now, when the sun had set and the evening star was chastely touching the bosom of the night, there were things to say, things to do. A drink first! What would he drink to – the past, the present, the future? To all of them! He would drink to the life that embraced the three of them! Here, with whitened hair, desires failing, strength ebbing out of him, with the sun gone down, and with only the serenity and the calm warning of the evening star left to him, he drank to Life, to all it had been, to what it was, to what it would be. Hurrah!"

Robert Scholes
English Department
University of Iowa

Too Many Cohens

Sirs:

As ADA's Legislative Representative, I have had numerous inquiries concerning a letter published in the October 3 *New Republic*, by Mr. David M. Cohen, supporting Senator Keating. The abundance of David Cohens in Washington prompts me to request the use of your publication to avoid confusing my own viewpoint with the views expressed in Mr. Cohen's letter.

I am grateful to Senator Keating for his support of liberal legislation, and his effective support in securing passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; I am grateful to Attorney General Kennedy for his support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and for his leadership in the Justice Department to expand human rights by assuring the right to counsel in federal trials, and prison and bail reform.

Far from being "totally bankrupt," as Mr. Cohen charges, the Liberal Party is a valuable ally in the fight to enact liberal legislation in civil rights, anti-poverty, education, housing, medicare, and welfare.

David Cohen
Americans for Democratic Action
Washington, D. C.

Friends of Goldwater

Sirs:

In my article "A Two-Party Press?" (October 10), I credited *The Los Angeles Times* with having endorsed Lyndon Johnson and thus losing subscriptions. This was not only premature, but incorrect. The paper has since endorsed Barry Goldwater. The article should have stated that *The Los Angeles Times* had printed critical material on Goldwater and thereby lost subscriptions. The author regrets this error. By way of further surprise, since I wrote the leading national journalistic spokesman for the Republican Party, *The New York Herald Tribune*, broke its 124-year tradition and endorsed the Democratic candidate for President.

Ben H. Bagdikian
Washington, D. C.

Automobile Safety

Sirs:

Concerning the article on automobile safety (September 19) by James Ridgeway: I was interested in his attempts to obtain information from a number of dealers. Salesmen are without a doubt the worst offenders; many of whom know *nothing* except the amount of their commission on each model. Questioning would probably show that most of them were selling encyclopedias last year, aluminum siding last month and will be selling vacuum cleaners next month. I recently shopped for a new car and asked a Ford sales-

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man about the options available for the Fairlane model, particularly the stiffer springs which had been favorably reviewed in an auto magazine road test; he was completely unaware that such an option existed and proceeded to argue with me on the advisability of such an installation.

Lyle R. Davidson
Bellevue, Wash.

Mr. Ridgeway's article on car safety evoked sad memories of my oldest son's death in a 1960 Corvair in precisely the same circumstances as described. I went to my solicitor several months later and was advised that there was absolutely no grounds for suing the manufacturer even though I had in hand a first-rate investigation report on the flip-over.

There is a new kind of brutality abroad in our countries of which unsafe cars are only one manifestation. Where are the controls and the deterrents to cope with this mayhem? Keep on the track.

James R. Lancaster
Whitby, Ontario

Science and Politics

Sirs:

In many ways, D. S. Greenberg is sharply perspicacious, and he writes well and swiftly, but almost invariably he reveals himself to be a free-and-easy pontificator. I refer specifically to his review of Quinton Hogg's *Science and Politics* (September 26).

Greenberg quotes Hogg's assertion that "everybody in this day and age must be aware to some extent of what science is and does, and then flatly calls it nonsense. He thinks he proves it is nonsense by saying that "many responsible and socially productive people manage to function quite well as citizens, parents, and workers without knowing whether the two neutrinos are elementary particles or an Italian dance team." What this statement proves is that Greenberg doesn't know the difference between relevant and irrelevant knowledge.

Our culture provides the shaping process which gives form to our lives as individuals. The principal element in this process, as it is now occurring, is that of science/technology. All other elements of the process are being dominated more and more by science/technology factors. Therefore, to be ignorant of the nature of science, its problem-solving methods, and its unique universality in the midst of caterwauling controversies between professors of various religions, philosophies, ideologies, and political systems, is to be too ignorant to participate responsibly in the conduct of contemporary affairs.

Arnold B. Larson
Manhattan Beach, Calif.

A Matter of Degree

Sirs:

This is with respect to Gene Bylinsky's review of Jeremy Bernstein's "The Analytical Engine" (October 3). It may be true that "the distinction between a schoolboy doing a multiplication a minute and a computer doing a hundred thousand multiplications a second is one of degree." However, quantitative changes in performance of several factors of 10 often cause qualitative changes. An often quoted example is that a man in a car goes 10-20 times as fast as a man on foot; a man in a plane goes 10 times as fast as a man in a car. But what changes this has wrought in our society! R. W. Hamming, Bell Telephone Laboratories, Incorporated, has pointed out that after all the difference between a man with a dollar in his pocket and the man with a million dollars in his pocket is merely one of degree.

J. F. Traub
Murray Hill, N.J.

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